GENDER, LAND REFORM and WELFARE OUTCOMES: A CASE STUDY OF CHIREDZI DISTRICT, ZIMBABWE

By

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Life's greatest battles aren't fought with fists, but with ideas and thoughts!

DECLARATION

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I declare that is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

Declaration of Conflicting Interests

The author declares no potential conflicts of interest with respect to this research study.

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This thesis is being submitted for examination with my approval.

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my loving and beautiful wife, Regina Mujere and kids Takudzwa, Michael, Tafadzwa and Rutendo born whilst this thesis was under examination. Regina has been a pillar of strength and source of inspiration since l met her, throughout my Masters up to the PhD. This would not have been possible without her loving support and standing in my place to raise the kids while l devoted time to my studies. May the Almighty bless you and hopefully will one day see you graduating with your own PhD. Special thanks to Takudzwa and Michael; Rutendo and Tafadzwa who turned three on the 28th of January 2021 when the outcome of the thesis examnation was communicated.

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ABSTRACT

Gender, Land Reform and Welfare Outcomes: A case study of Chiredzi District, Zimbabwe

This thesis explores questions of gender equality in social welfare theory; methodologies; approaches and policymaking in the Global South in the context of land reforms. This stems from the realisation that gender equality issues in social welfare are increasingly receiving greater attention in the context of the Global North and less in the South. By adopting a Transformative Social Policy framework, the research departs from hegemonic livelihoods, poverty reduction and the 'classical models' of land reforms often designed from the mould of the neoliberal discourse of individual tenure to focus on land reform as a relational question. Empirical data was gathered using a sequential explanatory mixed-methods approach involving survey questionnaires; in-depths interviews; focus group discussions; key informant interviews and field observations. A total of 105 randomly selected households, comprising 56 male-headed households (MHHs) and 49 female-headed households (FHHs) participated in the quantitative component of the study, comprising a control group of non-land reform beneficiaries. Additionally, 30 purposively selected in-depths interviews comprising 20 FHHs and 10 MHHs were conducted in resettlement study sites. Findings from this this study indicates that despite the country's depressed economic environment and the effects of climate change, transfer of land enhanced the productive capacities of individuals and rural households, including those headed by females. At micro-level, in-kind transfer of land to rural households proved to be a more superior social protection measure compared to either food or cash transfer. However, social relations and institutions proved resistant to change, posing a greater obstacle to social transformation. And more importantly, from a social reproductive perspective, the same land reform that enhanced the productive capacities of women, inadvertently, increased their social reproductive work with implications on the welfare of women relative to men. The thesis makes a contribution to social policy debates in Africa, which hitherto have been dominated by the introduction of cash transfers as witnessed in many countries across the continent. The transformative social policy approach brings novelty to the study of land reforms. By Conceptualising gender as a relational and social construct, the study adds knowledge on the nexus between gender, land reform and welfare using the Fast Track Land Reform Programme (FTLRP) as reference. With the FTLRP—as a leftist policy in a liberalised economy—there is a need for the

government to re-align its social and economic policies to avoid inconsistencies in the country's development path. On the gender front there is need to legislate resettlement areas as outside the jurisdiction of traditional structures; promulgate statutory instruments dealing with land and setting up designated land claims courts linked right up to the Constitutional Court. Specifically, for Chiredzi, there is a need to establish a corporate body to administer the affairs of Mkwasine following the pulling out of the Estate.

Keywords: gender, land reforms, water reforms, transformative social policy, Chiredzi, Zimbabwe

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

ACGSF:	Agricultural Credit Guarantee Scheme Fund
AGRITEX:	Agricultural Technical and Extension Services
CAs:	Communal Areas
CAQDA:	Computer-Aided Quantitative Data Analysis
CSFAZ:	Commercial Sugarcane Farmers Association of Zimbabwe
DLO:	District Lands Officer
ERC:	Estimated Recoverable Crystal
ESAP:	Economic Structural Adjustment Programme
ETP:	Employment Training Programme
FAO:	Food and Agricultural Organisation
FRO:	Feminisation of Responsibility and Obligation
FTLRP:	Fast Track Land Reform Programme
GMB:	Grain Marketing Board
GoZ:	Government of Zimbabwe
Ha:	Hectare
LAA:	Land Acquisition Act
LAMA:	Legal Age of Majority Act
LSCFs:	Large-Scale Commercial Farms
MLRR:	Ministry of Lands and Rural Resettlement
MSFA:	Mkwasine Sugarcane Farmers Association
NASSA:	National Social Security Agency
NGO:	Non-Governmental Organisation
NRs:	Natural Regions
OECD:	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
PPPs:	Public-Private Partnerships

PSIP: Public Sector Investment Plan

R&D: Research and Development

SADC: Southern Africa Development Community

SAPs: Structural Adjustment Programmes

SASA: South African Sociological Association

SARChI: South African Research Chairs Initiative

SDA: Social Dimensions of Adjustments

SIRDC: Scientific Industrial Research and Documentation Centre

SMAIAS: Sam Moyo African Institute of Agrarian Studies

SPSS: Statistical Package for the Social Sciences

SR: Social Reproduction

SSP: Social Protection Paradigm

SusCo: Successful Rural Sugarcane Farming Community Project

SWP: Social Welfare Programmes

TUSs: Time-Use Surveys

UNDP: United Nations Development Programme

UNICEF: United Nations Children's Fund

UNRISD: United Nations Research Institute for Social Development

WFLAT: Women Farmers Land and Agricultural Trust

WLLG: Women and Land Lobby Group

WLZ: Women and Land in Zimbabwe

WPRs: Welfare Production Regimes

ZAIP: Zimbabwe Agricultural Investment Plan

ZANU-PF: Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front

ZIDERA: Zimbabwe Democracy and Economic Recovery Act

ZIWFAT: Zimbabwe Indigenous Women Farmers Association Trust

ZimASSET: Zimbabwe Agenda for Sustainable Socio-Economic

	Transformation
ZIMSTAT:	Zimbabwe National Statistics
ZSA:	Zimbabwe Sugar Association
ZWRCN:	Zimbabwe Women's Resource Centre and Network

Chapter One

Introduction

1.0 Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of the current residual neoliberal social policy and its limitations in the context of developmental challenges peculiar to developing countries. It progresses to discuss social policy in the context of advanced nations and how it had been harnessed to transform gender inequality enhancing welfare outcomes for women in relation to men. Before an innovative approach to social policy—transformative social policy (TSP) is proffered as the social policy in development contexts and land reform as one of its social policy instruments—we provide a brief overview of post-independence land reforms in Zimbabwe and the Fast Track Land Reform Programme (FTLRP). This provides the contextual background to the study.

1.1 Background

The thesis seeks to assess the FTLRP from a TSP perspective, with a specific emphasis on the way in which the FTLRP might enhance the lives of women along key dimensions of the TSP perspective, i.e. production, social reproduction, redistribution, and social protection. While I seek to unpack gender as a social, relational construct in which social policy, which includes land reform, is problematised using the TSP approach, this not to ignore that the study of social policy and theorising welfare is yet to take root in development contexts and virtually non-existent on the African context. This is not to mention the residual or minimalist 'social protection paradigm' (Adesina 2011:464) currently being promoted in developing countries in the form of targeted-means-tested cash transfer programmes to affected individuals. From a gender perspective, Holmes, Jones and Veras (2010) have argued that to date how social protection has dealt with economic protection, in the majority of cases, is inadequate as it had neglected social risks as gender inequality, domestic violence and other forms of social discrimination at community and household levels. These issues have been, largely, absent in the broader social protection debates. A historical tapestry from Tawney's 'attempts to bring the means of a good life within reach of many' to Beveridge's post-war vision against five evil 'giants'– Want, Squalor, Idleness, Ignorance and Disease─ reveal that social policy was more than simply increasing incomes and resources (Sypnowich 2005: 8). Social policy was conceptualised with a more encompassing reach and coverage, driven by

the norms of equality and solidarity (Adesina 2011: 464) aimed at elevating human fulfilment, capacities and character (Beveridge 1943 cited in Sypnowich 2005: 8). In the context of advanced economies, social policy had played two particularly essential functions, namely the "Robin Hood' and the 'piggy bank' functions. The former is concerned with redistributing resources within society, that is, between members to promote wellbeing. The latter 'is concerned with the redistribution of resources to promote individual wellbeing' over the life cycle (Hills 2014). In these contexts, social policy has been variously deployed as an instrument to collectively protect citizens against adverse social risks as unemployment and poverty, invest in education and training for work to foster human capital formation (Deeming and Smyth 2015).

On the gender front, social policies in the rubric of reconciling family and work have been deployed as an instrument to attaining gender equity. Specifically, in the context of Nordic countries, social policy was designed as a tool to advance gender equality and welfare with the state underwriting most of the social reproduction costs to manage contradictions associated with the latter (Naidu and Ossome 2016: 58). The widespread availability of publicly funded childcare facilities had advanced the dual-earner family model pushing many women into employment. Provision of childcare had been defined as public intervention not only to advance gender equality through facilitating women employment but also to promote the wellbeing of children (Orloff 2009: 326; Jordan 2006: 1113). Such comprehensive and encompassing approaches to social policy calls for rethinking social policy in development contexts.

A review of feminist literature of the welfare state (Sainsbury 2008, 1994; O'Connor 2013; 1993; Orloff 1993, 1996, 2009; Lister 2010; Lewis 1998; O'Connor, Orloff and Shaver 1999 among many others) reveals that gender equality issues in social welfare had received greater attention in the context of the Global North. In the Global South and particularly so on the African continent, very little scholarly work had explored questions of gender equality in social welfare theory, let alone the methodologies and approaches to social policy.

1.2 Conceptual Definitions

A few terms and concepts used throughout this thesis require some conceptual definitions on the onset outlining how they were conceptualised in the study. The term social policy had been variously defined in the literature. A classical definition is one provided by T. H. Marshall defining social policy as government action "having a direct impact on the welfare

of citizens through services and income" (Marshall 1965: 7). Similarly, Baldock (2007) defined it as state intervention to redistribute resources among citizens (2007: 6). The welfare state—a mechanism through which social policies have been deployed, particularly in the context of OECD countries—is defined as modern public "institutional arrangements through which the state provides money, goods and services to its citizens" or state "functions that promote welfare and social protection of its members through a range of services and benefits" (Baldock 2007: 6; see also Orloff, 2009:320; Lister 2010:18). Others defined it as intervention "by the state in civil society to alter social and market forces" (Orloff 1993:304; Ruggie 1984:11). The predominance of social insurance and social assistance programmes within the welfare state points to its emphasis, mainly on short-term income maintenance to victims of industrial accidents and disability; retrenchments and unemployment; "ill-health; the death of a family breadwinner or extreme poverty" (Baldock 2007: 6).

The term 'gender' represents a key theoretical and conceptual innovation of feminist scholarship following realising the inadequacy of current body of theory to explain persistent inequality between women and men (Scott 1986: 1066; Orloff 2009: 320). Highlighting its 'relational' as opposed to its 'individual' attributes, feminist scholars emphasised gender as a social organisation of relationships between the sexes, thus rejecting its widespread reduction to natural individual sexual differences (Connell 2009; Lorber 1999). As a constitutive element of social relationships based on sexual differences between the sexes in feminist theory and practice, gender is then conceptualised as the primary way of signifying relationships of power in which women and men are positioned in relations of hierarchy (Scott 1986: 1066; Orloff 2009: 318). Consequently, any change in the social organisation of these relationships corresponds to changes in the configuration and representations of power between the sexes (Scott 1986: 1067). Asserting the institutional character of gender feminist scholars argued that the dimensions of "gender are to be found across social institutions and organisations" in contrast to its representation in scholarship and popular culture (Connell 2009; Lorber 1999). Additionally, feminist scholars emphasised gender as a practice constituted and reconstituted by embodied agents and internalised by individuals as identities and selves (Martin 2004: 1257). This explains why West and Zimmerman in their groundbreaking analysis of gender theorising in sociology categorised it as a "social interactional accomplishment, a performance of difference that one 'does' rather than 'is,' it is individuals who do gender" (1987: 126). Thus, gender is constructed through psychological, interactional, institutional and cultural meanings (Ridgeway 2009 cited in

McGinn and Oh 2017: 7; Scott 1986: 1067). This exposition of the 'gender concept' by feminist scholars made it an important analytical category accessible for sociological analysis and conceptualised as such in this research study.

1.3 Transformative Social Policy

Transformative Social Policy "coined by UNRISD, in its flagship research programme, Social Policy in Development Context" 2000-2006 (UNRISD 2010: 24) draws attention to the key role of "social policy in development and catch-up process" (Mkandawire 2004). The approach defines social policy as "collective public efforts aimed at affecting and protecting the wellbeing of people in a given territory" (Adesina 2009: 38), or "collective interventions in the economy to influence access to and the incidence of adequate and secure livelihood and income" (Mkandawire 2004:1). Transformative Social Policy captures the wider vision of social policy, highlighting its multiple productive, redistributive, social protection, social reproductive, social cohesion and nation-building functions (Adesina 2015: 19, 2011: 465). The approach calls for the need to re-define the 'concept of social policy to include those functional equivalents to the conventional social policies that classical welfare states have long ignored' (Estevez-Abe 2008; Mkandawire 2014:19; Yi and Mkandawire 2014: 3). Among these social policy instruments are health, education, housing, labour market policies, affirmative equity action, family and childcare policies, old-age pensions, and fiscal policies including land and agrarian reforms.

Lessons from South Korean development success highlight the critical function played by social policies in transforming South Korea from a poor country endowed with few natural resources to a leading electronic trading country, competitive globally in a range of manufactured goods from mobile phones, cars to ships (Chung 2014: 108). The East Asian experience explains how these different types of social policies had, to different degrees and in different pathways, transformed societies and individuals (Yi 2015: 10). What can be drawn from the South Korean classical model was its emphasis on the production tasking of social policy. Despite the attendant wage compressions much of the social protection task was devolved to the enterprises that employed people, unlike the welfare state established in countries of central, western and northern Europe. However, absent was any attempt in the way of socialising the burden of childbirth and care. A holistic, transformative social policy is one firmly based on the inseparability of and holding in tandem the 'economic' and the 'social' to address adverse effects of economic policies and activities including 'risks

emanating from the market; the changing life-cycle circumstances; the burden of giving birth and care (UNRISD 2010).

On the gender front, social policies aim to transform social relations and institutions, particularly so in the area of gender relations and inequality (Adesina (2011: 466, 2009: 38; Mkandawire 2007). This is particularly important as "social policies are always filtered through social institutions of the family; communities; markets" and social relations which are 'bearers of gender' (UNRISD 2006: 3). Additionally, transformative social policies aim to reduce the burden of growth and reproduction from individuals and families through the socialisation of care (Hujo 2014). The latter represents one function of social policy central to this study. For the purpose of this research TSP is adopted as a conceptual-cum-analytical framework to assess the gendered welfare outcomes of the fast track land reform programme conceptualised as a social policy instrument.

1.4 Land reform: A Social Policy Instrument

In the context of Africa's development, taking cognisance that a significant share of the continent's population still resides in the rural areas, unlike the modern welfare state preponderance of formal wage, social policies must include measures towards the rural economies (Mkandawire 2014: 26). The author emphasises that it is with respect to land reforms and agriculture that many aspects of social protection 'by other means (or surrogate social policy) can manifest' (Mkandawire 2014: 26; see also Beland 2019: Seelkopf and Starke 2019). With land reforms re-emerging as important developmental and policy agenda in newly industrialising markets and developing countries (Chung 2014:111) agricultural policies such as farmer protection, price support and producer subsidies including land reforms constitute de facto income maintenance programs for the rural populations (Mkandawire 2014:26). These production-focused instruments can dramatically increase production, raising households' incomes and smoothening consumption of farming households. This will effectively protect households from socio-economic vulnerability via a 'prophylactic' rather than the current 'reactive' approach of waiting for people to fall into vulnerability (Adesina 2011: 463). Such an approach contrasts markedly with the hardly economically and socially transformative 'economic protection' emphasis of current social protection programmes (Sabates-Wheeler and Devereux 2008: 65) which leaves vulnerabilities emerging from and embedded in the economic, political and social context unscathed.

1.4.1 Post-independence Land Reforms and the 'Fast Track'

There is immense literature on the FTLRP using a wide range of theoretical perspectives and schools of thought (see Hammars, Raftopoulos and Jenson 2003; Raftopoulos and Phimister 2004; Bond and Manyana 2003; Campbell 2003; Kinsey 2004; Moyo and Yeros, 2005b, 2007a, 2007b; Sadomba 2008a; Alexander 2003, 2006; Murisa 2010; Mkodzongi 2013; Sachikonye 2003; Kriger 2003, 2005). In addition to this are contributions from scholars writing from a gender perspective, largely employing livelihoods and poverty reduction approaches in analysing the outcomes of the FTLRP (see Mazhawidza and Manjengwa 2011; Mutopo 2011; Chiweshe 2014, 2015a, 2015b; Chiweshe, Chakona and Hellicker 2014; Chingarande 2008, 2010; Matondi 2012; Mutopo, Chiweshe 2014; Mutopo, Manjengwa and Chiweshe 2014). Departing from this existing body of scholarly work and adopting a Transformative Social Policy framework, this research study calls for an in-depth reformulation of the land question and notions of land reform. It is an invitation to shift from the 'classical models' of land reforms often designed from the mould of the neoliberal discourse of individual tenure to that which focus on land reforms as a relational question with the potential to transform social relations, institutions and enhancement of the welfare of women relative to that of their male counterparts.

1.5 Statement of the Problem

Social welfare theory, methodologies, approaches and instruments and their gendered dimensions are still in their nascent stages and remain undeveloped on the African continent despite the proliferation of (gendered) poverty and rising inequality threatening not only social and economic development but also political stability. Land and agrarian reforms, despite their functional equivalence to the social policy instruments in the context of the Global North, are seldom theorised as social policy instruments superior to the current income transfer programmes. In Zimbabwe, despite constituting 52 percent of the national population only 18 percent and 12 per cent of the land beneficiaries in the small-scale and medium-scale schemes of the FTLRP were women, partly reflecting the gendered impact of state programmes. Paradoxically, women constitute 58 percent of persons employed in agriculture with 53.6 percent and 56.8 percent working as own account and unpaid family workers respectively, largely in some form of subsistence farming due to their marginalisation in the formal labour market. The implication of these gender statistics on individual and household welfare of women relative to that of men, considering that 67.8

percent of Zimbabwe's population is rural and rely on land as their source of income and livelihood, had never been interrogated. With 56.8 percent, women constituting unpaid family workers vis-à-vis the unitary household model in the transfer of land——the implications of micro-level intra-household social and gender relations on the welfare of individuals within the household remains critical areas of theorising gender and welfare in Zimbabwe. While the need to restructure gender relations in land has been established, studies extending these to gender inequalities in welfare, particularly in agrarian contexts, are yet to be conducted. Scantily in the literature is land reform assessed as a social policy instrument for reaching redistributive, productive, social reproduction and social protection goals. Yet social policy, in its expansive and progressive forms, plays a distinctly transformative role in enhancing "productive capacities of individuals, groups and communities," (UNRISD 2010: 5), protection of individuals and households from socio-economic vulnerabilities and "reconciling the burdens of reproduction with those of other social tasks" (UNRISD 2006:1). Given the paucity of research and writing on land as a social policy instrument in general, and more so in terms of its links with issues of gender——the importance of a social policy perspective has critical policy implications not only for Zimbabwe but the continent at large. It is cutting-edge on the continent's discussions in terms of transformative social policy. More specifically, it provides invaluable policy insights to former settler economies within the Southern African region, which are yet to implement extensive land and agrarian reform programmes like South Africa, Namibia and Angola.

1.6 Scope and Limitations of the Study

Firstly, the transformative social policy conceptual framework adopted to analyse gender and land reform in Zimbabwe, post-2000, which came to be known as the 'Fast track Land Reform Programme' (FTLRP) confines the focus of the study to the four main social policy functions. These include enhancement of "productive capacities of individuals, groups and communities" (UNRISD 2010: 5); the redistributive outcomes of the' FTLRP; enhancement of individual and household social protection and social reproduction. Secondly, while reference will be made to pre-2000 land reforms in Zimbabwe, they are out the purview for this study. Thirdly, on the outset, the study set to analyse the latest land reform in Zimbabwe as a social policy instrument. As such, it has an exclusive focus on land reform beneficiaries and its welfare outcomes from a gender lens. This is to the exclusion of other social groups, including former farmworkers and the welfare outcomes on this category of people, which

can be a focus of subsequent research endeavours. Fourth, the communal areas incorporated in the study design should not be misconstrued for a focus on communal areas; they are brought in as a counterfactual group——a benchmark for comparative analysis and inference on the welfare outcomes of the FTLRP as social policy intervention.

A few limitations are critically important to highlight with regard to the methods used in the study, particularly the small sample sizes for both the quantitative and qualitative components of the study. With regard to the former, (Fisher's) Exact Test of Significance supplemented the Chi-Square Exact Test of Significance where elements represented were small. Additionally, due to attrition during data cleaning in cases where there where discrepancies across gender, analysis were computed first within a gender category before comparisons can be made either across gender or study sites. With regard to the qualitative study, while its main objective was to gather information-rich discussions from the study participants, selecting in-depth interview participants from the quantitative sample may imply over-extraction. Nonetheless, within the research design, the former was set to capture intra-household dynamics and women's experiences from the same participants, which the quantitative study was not designed to capture. In addition, the relative smaller representation of male-headed households in the in-depth interviews may imply that some diverse experiences of women in these households may have been missed. While four focus group discussions were to be conducted, two in each resettlement site, only two were conducted in the A1 study site. In the A2 study site, arranging FGDs proved difficult as the research was conducted during the sugarcane harvest time when farmers were quite busy. In spite of the above, the study managed to collect a significant amount of field data, the analysis of which is presented later in this thesis.

1.7 Research Objectives

Using the case study of Chiredzi District, in Zimbabwe the objective of this research study was to analyse gender and land reform within a Transformative Social Policy framework along its four dimensions of production, redistribution, protection and social reproduction. Specifically, the objectives are:

1.7.1 Examine the extent to which the FTLRP enhanced the productive capacities and asset accumulation of female relative to male-headed households in Chiredzi District of Masvingo.

1.7.2 Evaluate the extent to which the distributive effects of the FTLRP across gender transformed the gendered:

(i) Social institutions and

(ii) Social relations of production in newly resettled areas of Chiredzi District

1.7.3 Assess the social protection function of land reform, particularly the protection of female-headed against socio-economic vulnerabilities households relative to male-headed in Chiredzi District.

1.7.4 Evaluate the FTLRP from a social reproduction perspective with regard to social service provision and its implication on the welfare of resettlement women in Chiredzi relative to that of men.

1.8 Research Questions

1.8.1 In what ways have productive capacities and asset accumulation by previously marginalised and low-income groups, especially women in relation to men, been enhanced and the challenges they are facing following access to land via the FTLRP?

1.8.2 What gendered social institutions and social relations of production have been transformed and the relative position of women in relation to men following the redistributive FTLRP across gender?

1.8.3 How and to what extent has the protection of women against socio-economic vulnerabilities in relation to men in female and male-headed households been enhanced with increased access to and ownership of means of production by both genders after the FTLRP?

1.8.4 What are the social reproduction conditions of land beneficiary households and communities within FTLRP areas in Chiredzi. What are their effects on the welfare of women in relation to men?

Chiredzi District, representing the case study for this research is located 445 km south-east of the capital city, Harare and is one of the 6 (six) administrative districts in Masvingo province. It is largely a rural district compising a total of 32 (thirty-two) wards made up 5 (five) medium-scale A2 sugarcane-farming wards, 10 (ten) small-scale A1 wards and 17 (seventeen) communal wards from whence three study sites were purposively selected. Ward 21 was selected, as it constitutes the former Mkwasine sugar plantation wholly acquired by

the government during the FTLRP and distributed to small-scale growers on average plots of 20 ha in size. Ward 20 was selected to represent the A1 small-scale farming areas due to access to irrigation engendered by the water reforms that came in the wake of the FTLRP in the 2000s. Ward 25 was selected as the control for its accessibility and proximity as other communal areas were inaccessible due to the flooding of Runde, one of the main rivers draining the district when the research was conducted

1.9 Importance/Relevance of the Study

Firstly, the study is in line with recently growing calls for social policy to go beyond the residual and narrow focus to which it has been confined by the current neoliberal regime, if it is to be transformative, to embrace much "broader economic, social and political goals such as distribution, protection, production and reproduction" (UNRISD 2010: 1515; see also Adesina 2007, 2009; Mkandawire 2007). This represents the vision "encapsulated in the idea of 'Transformative Social Policy" emphasising the multiple and transformative roles of social policy. These not only relate to the economy and a cushioning against poverty and vulnerability but also transforming social relations and institutions particularly so "in the area of gender relations and equality" (Adesina 2011:466). Thus, the study propels research on land reforms, particularly gender in new directions of social policy research in Africa.

Secondly, apart from a brief reference by Chung (2014), writing on lessons from the successful transformation of the South Korean economy, land reform is seldom analysed as a transformative social policy instrument. This represents one lacuna this study attempt to fill. The hegemonic influences of 'economic models' in social science research in general and social policy had seen analyses of land reforms elsewhere, including Zimbabwe being informed by neoliberal discourses of individual tenure. Scant emphasis has been paid on the transformative and social protection features of equitable access to land. The study departs from these hegemonic neoliberal economic models and discourses reformulating and analysing land reform and its outcomes within a Transformative Social Policy framework. It highlights the kind of policy instruments necessary including farmer skills training, input support, technological development among others if productive capacities of members of society and social protection by 'other' means are to be realised. This is girded decisively by a gendered realisation that, unlike in the contexts of industrialised nations with a preponderance of formal employment, the emancipation of women in developmental contexts lies in their involvement in the principal task of production.

Third, the study takes cognizance that a significant share of Africa's population still resides in the rural areas, and the land question remains unresolved in many former settler colonies in Southern Africa. As such, it provides policy insights on plausible pathways for land reforms to address one of the unresolved contemporary agrarian questions, that is, gender equity. The study underscores the importance for states to institute agrarian and land reforms at levels sufficient for social reproduction for gender equity. The continued relevancy of land in Africa's predominantly rural economies makes it imperative for policymakers to pay attention to the "conditions under which the rural poor reproduce themselves" (Naidu and Ossome 2016: 51). This is critical to ensure land reforms benefit all sections of society rather than increasing the burden for women as research has indicated. Findings from this study will be beneficial to policymakers and practitioners, particularly those working on land reform.

Fourth, unlike dominant studies on land reform in Zimbabwe, the social policy dimensions of land reform provide critical insights on the evolutions and contradictions of social relations and institutions, especially gender within the African context. The thesis' innovative framework and its research question on gender, land reform and welfare, propels research on gender and land reform beyond the many common hegemonic livelihoods, poverty reduction, customary and land rights frameworks. It is cutting-edge in discussions on the continent in terms of the transformative social policy providing context-based and relevant empirical evidence. This is in addition to the thesis' dedicated focus on women in commercial agriculture, that is, A2 sugarcane FTLFP beneficiaries, a neglected areas of research in the literature on gender and land reform in Zimbabwe.

1.10 Organisation of Thesis

From this introductory chapter, the thesis proceeds to chapter two focusing on gender and land reform in post-independence Zimbabwe. The background to the chapter discusses the mainstream writing on land reform and resettlement in Zimbabwe and the extent to which gender was missing. Much attention was given to the national question, addressing colonial injustices, deracialising large-scale commercial farming (Moyo and Skalnes 1990, Moyo 2005); issues of tenure and their effect on productivity and efficiency on resettled farms (Riddell 1988; Bratton 1987; Palmer 1990; Kinsey 1999; Mitchel 2001 Weiner *et al.* 1985; Roth and Bruce 1994; Moyo 1986; Munslow 1985); cost-benefit analysis and the fiscal implications of resettling the poor and landless (Deininger, Hoogeveen and Kinsey 2004; Palmer 1990) among a few others. This was a similar trend on the mainstream scholars

writing on the FTLRP as outlined in the chapter. Having highlighted the lacuna in mainstream writing, the greater part of the chapter focuses on women and gender issues in land reform and resettlement. The different theoretical perspectives and approaches used by gender and feminist scholars to understand the issues of women and land are discussed. These include the patriarchal approach (see Chiweshe, Chakona and Helliker 2014; Chiweshe 2015b, 2015a; Chiweshe 2011; Goebel 2005; Jacobs 2000, Jirira and Halimana 2008; Svodziwa 2019; Cheater 1981; Goebel 1999a; Jacobs 1983, 1992; Gaidzanwa 1981, 1988; 1995; Cheater and Gaidzanwa 1996); the negotiation, bargaining and agency perspective (see Mutopo 2011, 2012, 2014; Goebel 2005; Chiweshe *et al.* 2014; Bhatasara and Chiweshe 2017; Mazhawidza and Manjengwa 2011; Chingarande 2008, 2010; Chingarande, Mugabe, Kujinga and Maguse 2012). Other scholars utilised a feminist Marxist approach (see Cheater 1981; Jacobs 1983; Mazhawidza and Manjengwa 2011), some a legal perspective (see Mushunje 2001; Bhatasara 2011; Bhatasara and Chiweshe 2017; Ranchod-Nilsson 2006; Gaidzanwa 2012; Jacobs 1983; Jacobs and Howard 1987; Shumba 2011). Lately, and critically important in feminist studies is the intersectionality theoretical perspective by Bhatasara and Chiweshe (2017). This produced a rich literature from all these feminist and gender scholars writing from diverse theoretical persuasion, thus situating the transformative social policy perspective within existing gender and feminist theories on land reform and resettlement in Zimbabwe.

Chapter three unpacks the conceptual framework informing this research, 'the Transformative Social Policy Framework' (Adesina 2007, 2011; Mkandawire 2011; UNRISD 2010). Transformative Social Policy "coined by UNRISD, in its flagship research programme, Social Policy in Development Context" 2000-2006 (UNRISD 2010: 24) draws attention to the key role of "social policy in development and catch-up process" (Mkandawire 2004). The approach defines social policy as "collective public efforts aimed at affecting and protecting the wellbeing of people in a given territory" (Adesina 2009:38), or "collective interventions in the economy to influence access to and the incidence of adequate and secure livelihood and income" (Mkandawire 2004:1). In terms of gender, the chapter highlights the extent to which social policies are always gendered (UNRISD 2006: 3). Before the conceptual framework is unpacked, a background providing a review of social and economic policies in Zimbabwe is provided to contextualise TSP within a Zimbabwean context. This is also in addition to a condensed review of literature on gender, and social policy in the context

of advanced economies of Europe meant to provide insights to the study of gender and social policy in the Global South.

Chapter four outlines the research methodology providing an overview of its relativist ontological and feminist constructivist epistemological orientations; adopting a feminist standpoint theory, which places women's concerns and knowledge at the forefront of academic inquiry giving voice to women's experiences. It proceeds to discuss the research design outlining the sample procedures, data collection, analysis and write-up, including how issues of positionality, reflexivity and ethics in the research were addressed.

Chapter Five to Chapter Eight constitute the results chapters. Chapter Five presents findings on the research question that interrogated enhancement of productive capacities, assets accumulation and welfare outcomes for land beneficiaries. Chapter Six present findings on the transformation of social relations and institutions and the resultant welfare outcomes. Chapter Seven presents land reform is an *ex-ante* social protection instrument for individual and household, while Chapter Eight analyses the FTLRP from a social reproduction perspective. Chapter Nine outlines the thesis's contribution to knowledge and policy recommendations not only relating to the FTLRP but also with a specific focus in Chiredzi.

1.11 Conclusion

The introductory chapter sets the social policy context of the thesis, the research problem and questions informing the research and its relevancy to the study of social policy in the development context. Posing the question of how social policy instruments can transform gender and social relations, the study's contribution to knowledge lies in its departure from dominant livelihoods and poverty reduction approaches on land reform in Zimbabwe. The social policy dimensions of land reforms provide critical insights into the evolutions (contradictions) of social relations and institutions, especially gender. By reformulating the land question and notion of land reforms from the 'classical model' often designed from the mould of neoliberal discourse of individual tenure to that which focuses on land reforms as a relational question, the study provides empirical productive, redistributive, social protection and reproductive outcomes of the FTLRP in Zimbabwe using a gender lens. The next chapter delves into gender and land reform in post-independence Zimbabwe.

Chapter Two

Gender and Land Reform in Zimbabwe

"Notwithstanding Zimbabwe's recent war of liberation and the role played by women in that struggle, subsequent indications suggest that the social, educational, legal and economic position of women is unlikely to change radically in the near future. Thus I would argue that my position is well protected!" (Cheater 1981: 374)

2.0 Introduction

The chapter opens by outlining the main topics and themes that enjoyed the limelight in academic debates by prominent scholars writing on land reform and resettlement in Zimbabwe pre-2000 and the extent to which gender issues were conspicuously missing. Preceding a thorough discussion of the various feminist and gender theoretical perspectives and approaches to the study of land reform and resettlement in Zimbabwe, is an attempt to locate gender and women issues in the mainstream intellectual debates on the processes leading to and the outcomes of the FTLRP. The chapter concludes highlighting the extent to which issues of women and land in Zimbabwe cannot be fully understood outside the constellations of gender, politics and power and the former's participation in the economy, including commercial agriculture. The last sections focus on the outcomes of the FTLRP pertinent to this study and how the programme unfolded in Masvingo Province.

2.1 Land Reform and Resettlement Writing in post-Independence Zimbabwe

Scholarly work on land reform and resettlement in Zimbabwe can broadly be categorised into two, one in which gender is totally ignored or at best incorporated as an add-on and the other which sought to emphasise issues of women and access to land in Zimbabwe. I shall refer to the former as the mainstream writing and the latter as the gender and land reform and resettlement literature in post-independence Zimbabwe. These two scholarly works on land reform and resettlement in post-independence Zimbabwe had remained relatively parallel to each other with little, if any, incorporation of insights from either of the streams of literature. The proceeding discussion outlines the main issues that enjoyed scholarly attention in the

pre-2000 mainstream writing and the extent to which issues of women and gender were marginalised.

2.1.1 Mainstream Debates on Land Reform and Resettlement Phase 1

Issues of class and race and the need to address historical injustices (Moyo and Skalnes 1990; Moyo 2005) productivity, commercial viability and efficiency and the need to preserve the national economy (Riddell 1988; Bratton 1987; Palmer 1990; Kinsey 1999; Mitchel 2001); cost-benefit analysis and the fiscal implications of resettling the landless (Deininger, Hoogeveen and Kinsey 2004; Palmer 1990); land utilisation and availability of land for resettlement (Weiner *et al.*. 1985; Roth and Bruce 1994; Moyo 1986; Munslow 1985) and issues of land tenure and its effect on productivity (Kinsey 1983; Roth and Bruce 1994) enjoyed greater attention within scholarly and policy debates pitying those for and against land redistribution (Gaidzanwa 2011: 2, 1995). Shifting of the policy pendulum towards either those in favour or against land redistribution affected not only the pace but also the class of target beneficiaries of the pre-2000 resettlement programme. Welfarist and poverty reduction concerns predominated in the earlier phases of land reform and resettlement, particularly the period between 1980-85 and there on until the 90's economic concerns took centre stage. As argued by Moyo (1990), these policy shifts and the room to manoeuvre for the government were linked to the health of the economy.

2.1.1.1 The National Question and Addressing Colonial Injustices

The Growth With Equity policy thrust adopted by the government in the early years of independence was characterised by redistributive policies aimed at addressing colonial disparities and mainstreaming previous marginalised black majority in the mainstream economy (Sibanda and Makwata 2017: 5). Land resettlement was one important component of the Growth With Equity development strategy of the new government, and its Transitional Development Plan of 1982 which had an ambitious target of resettling 162, 000 families on 9 million hectares by 1985 (Kinsey 1999; 179; Moyo and Skalnes 1990: 202; Palmer 1990: 167). Although only 34, 000 families were resettled by the end of the target period, the first Five Year Plan (1986-1990) set a new target of resettling 15, 000 families annually translating to 75, 000 families by the end of the planning period (Cliffe 1988: 16). This was evident of a government driven by a normative political ideology of remedying past discrimination and inequalities not only with regard to ownership of land but also in other

sectors of the economy. As argued by Moyo (1990: 207), resettling 162, 000 families on 9 million or a revised version of 6.9 million hectares of land (Roth and Bruce 1994: 3) meant that over 50 percent of the white commercial farming area was to be expropriated by the government for resettlement purposes. No sooner than later, this was not without critics. This, was in spite of, as argued by Moyo (2005: 156) the need to decongest the overpopulated rural areas, rehabilitate people displaced by war and promoting equitable distribution of land as set out in the objectives of the first phase of the resettlement programme. In these debates, isolating issues of gender and women were subsumed and got lost under the broader national struggles (Gouws 2005: 72).

2.1.1.2 Productivity, Efficiency and the 'Unproductive Peasant' Myth

As early as 1982 fears of disruption and losses in agricultural production were already being speculated to counter any radical land reforms as implied by figures in policy documents regarding the number of families to be resettled (Roth and Bruce 1994: 3; Kinsey 1983). The need to preserve the economy was substantiated by the centrality of white commercial agriculture to the economy at large. At that time the sector generated 75 percent of gross agricultural output; over 80 percent of commercial crop sales including exports; 94 percent of total livestock sales; half of the total export earnings which had risen from 30-40 per cent in the early 1980's and employing 231,589 workers (Roth and Bruce 1994: 3; Palmer 1990: 167; Riddell 1988: 79). Due to the integrated nature of the economy, in the early years of independence agriculture supplied 43.9 per cent of raw materials to the manufacturing sector and absorbed half of its inputs from the local manufacturing industry (Riddell 1988: 79). Conclusively, its centrality to the economy was indisputable, yet the dual nature of the economy and the need for participation of the marginalised black population in the mainstream economy was an issue the government was determined to resolve.

Those arguing against land resettlement began postulating losses in production and employment including the decline in exports in agriculture to be proportionate to the size of land acquired for resettlement purposes (Moyo and Skalnes 1990: 207; Mafa *et al.*. 2015: 82). This hypothesis was supported by other myths including the 'unproductive peasants' (Kinsey 1999: 178) and the superiority and efficiency of large-scale vis-à-vis smallholder resettled farmers (Roth and Bruce 1994: 1; Mitchel 2001: 600). According to Kinsey (1999), this was reminiscent of the old land reform debates on appropriate farm sizes comparing large versus small farms (1999: 173). At that moment there were four categories of farmers, namely post-

independence resettled farmers, pre-independence black small-scale commercial farmers, communal farmers and white large-scale commercial farmers. Scepticism began to emerge that post-independence resettled farmers were the least productive and undeserving the land allocated to them (Kinsey 1999: 174). The productive capacity of resettled farmers came in question despite evidence indicating that after controlling the quality of land and rainfall amounts yields per hectare in the resettlement areas were comparable to those in the large-scale commercial farming sector (Weiner 1985). While other factors militated against resettled farmers such as their poor background, where 80 percent of the beneficiaries fell into this category (Palmer 1990: 180); Mafa *et al.*. 2025: 82), lack of experience and a recurrent three-year drought (1982-1984) worked against the resettled farmers (Deininger *et al.*. 2004; 1698; Cliffe 1988: 18).

Studies conducting cost-benefit analyses of the resettlement programme (Deininger *et al.*. 2004; Cusworth and Walker 1988; Robilliard *et al.*. 2001) found an acceptable rate of return in the earlier land reform programme of the 1980s. In addition to this, Bill Kinsey cautioned against premature evaluations arguing that the full maturity of large-scale projects of this nature is characterised by long payback periods (1999: 175, 1983: 163). However, these arguments were not enough to prevent a shift in land policy to be dictated by economic concerns.

2.1.1.3 Rising Cost of Resettlement and the ‘Undeserving Beneficiaries’

The exercise of resettling people is always associated with financial costs, and the latter became a major concern in the early resettlement efforts (Moyo and Skalnes 1990: 206). These costs related not only to the buying of land but also the provision of support infrastructure such as road, schools, clinics, water facilities, housing among many other critical amenities. Resultantly, economic concerns of resettling people took centre stage overshadowing the earlier emphasis on poverty reduction and landlessness. Budgetary constraints, as early as 1983, forced the government to weigh either land reform, which itself needed social services or its other flagship programme of service provision in colonially marginalised rural and urban black communities (Palmer 1990: 171). From the mid-1980 a slowed version of land reform was adopted amid calls by the World Bank for the government to “to tighten its land redistribution programme” due to fiscal constraints (Mafa *et al.*. 2015: 82). Fiscal constraints became acute in the ’90s with negative implications on the resettlement programme. Between 1991 to 1996, budgetary allocation for resettlement

dropped from $400 million in 1991 to $10 million in 1995 and no more than $7 million in 1996 (Goebel 2005: 16). This was also coupled with a fundamental shift in target beneficiaries with a selection criterion emphasising farming experience and competence suggesting "abandonment of the earlier commitment to redistributive justice" (Palmer 1990: 179; Chitsike 2003: 7). This shift in the selection criteria emanated from the accusations that the landless lacked the necessary draught power and machinery to make full utilisation of the allocated land (Roth and Bruce 1994: 23, 111). Issues of women and gender were peripherial in all these economic debates.

2.1.1.4 Emerging Class Interests and Deracialising Large-Scale Commercial Farming

In the 1990's new voices began to attract the ears of the government, cementing class issues in the resettlement programme. A class of powerful white capitalist farmers who had retained an influential voice and political clout within government began to dictate government policy leading to a slowing down in structural transformation of the agricultural sector (Moyo and Skalnes 1990: 214; Cliffe 1988: 22). Ironically, the National Farmers Association of Zimbabwe, which represented communal farmers at that time, lobbied the government to prioritise the 'efficient' and 'experienced' rather than the 'landless' and poor (Moyo and Skalnes 1990: 182). In the context of emerging corruption in government relative to the early years of independence, some ministers and politicians appropriated for themselves farms acquired for resettlement purposes (Mitchel 2001; 591; Kinsey 1999: 177; Stoneman and Cliffe 1988: 108). Class interests became formalized by the 1990 National Land Reform Policy which sought to deracialise large-scale commercial farming by promoting participation of emergent black elites into the sector (Palmer 1990: 174). It is argued that by 1999 black elites owned 11 percent of the land under commercial agriculture (Moyo and Skalnes 1990: 158). As class interest took centre stage, those relating to gender and women were relegated to the fringes.

2.1.1.5 Tenure Security and Agricultural Productivity on Resettled Farms

Issues regarding the insecurity of tenure on resettlement schemes were raised as early as the 1980s (see Kinsey 1983). However, they became more prominent in the 1990s with the neoliberal change in land policy giving prominence to issues of productivity, which were latter extended to issues of environmental degradation (Roth and Bruce 1994: 35). In the mainstream writing tenure issues centred on the best tenure arrangement suitable for the

communal and commercial farming areas. Discussions revolved around the best tenure systems that can facilitate equitable access, flexibility and the necessary legal frameworks to allow transferability of land within a market system (Roth and Gonese 1994: 1). Freehold title was the preferred tenure system as it accounted for two-thirds of long-term loans (20-30 years) extended to the agricultural sector by commercial banks (Roth and Gonese 1994: 31). Resultantly, in 1993, a Commission of Enquiry into Appropriate Agriculture Land Tenure System was set up (Chitsike 2003: 8). In line with the predominant neoliberal policies prevalent at that time, the Land Tenure Commission, in its report of 1994, recommended various tenure systems including leases with an option for freehold in small-scale commercial farming areas; long-term leases with option to purchase for resettlement areas and awarding of title deeds to future settlers to encourage capital investment. In the communal areas, certificate of occupation was proposed (see Chitsike 2003: 8). Some of these recommendations were not adopted by the government, particularly due to its scepticism with freehold (Mitchel 2001: 594). Issues of women's land insecurity, though particularly important, were nowhere to be found in these debates and left to gender activists and feminist scholars to highlight.

Similarly, with regard to the FTLRP connections were made between lack of investment by the new settlers and insecure land tenure even though empirical research has proved the contrary (Hanlon, Manjengwa and Smart 2013: 200). FTLRP destruction of property rights negatively affected access to agricultural finance or credit, on-farm investment and productivity (Richardson 2004). While the government of Zimbabwe had issued permits to A1 farmers and 99-year leases for A2 farmers since 2006 (Moyo *et al.* 2009:15 see Appendices C), there are many routes to secure tenure and elaborate titling is not always the best as security can emerge from communal tenure (Scoones 2017). With the complex relationship between land, collateral and finance, Scoones argued that there are many ways of assuring finance institutions to offer agricultural finance of which land title is just one route. Other forms of collateral exist such as state guarantee schemes; group lending, among others, which have worked well in other contexts including Zimbabwe. He further argues that the existing agrarian structure in Zimbabwe calls for innovations in agricultural finance approaches, as the old model of large-scale commercial financing is simply not replicable in a more variegated agricultural sector (Scoones 2017). Kenyan experience busts the overarching assumption of individual title means secure tenure as granting such had not facilitated access to agricultural loans (Cliffe *et al.* 2011: 132).

However, there is a persistent argument that the nature of land tenure documents conferred on land beneficiaries are not secure enough and purportedly affecting agricultural productivity and farm investment. Lately, the government had launched 99-year leases for the A2 farmers. The effect of this on agricultural finance is yet to be seen. With the introduction of Command Agriculture introduced in 2016 and the resultant productivity outcomes, it would seem to indicate that the primary constrains to productivity is access to inputs and a guaranteed market. Under the programme, the government offers inputs on credit to capable farmers' including seeds, fertilisers, fuel and chemicals with farmers expected to make the repayment in the form of grain after harvesting (Shone 2018: 25). As part of the success stories of the command agriculture programme, the country produced enough grain stock in the 2016/17 agricultural season making importation of the staple crop unnecessary (reliefweb.int/disaster/dr-2015-000137-mwi).

Proceeding is an analysis of the various schools of thought and theoretical perspectives that have been used to understand the processes leading to and the outcomes of the latest land reform in Zimbabwe. An attempt is made to assess the extent to which gender and women's issues were treated as peripheral while others were brought to the limelight.

2.2 Gender in Intellectual Debates, Perspectives and Outcomes of the FTLRP

The manner in which the fast track was implemented and the crisis that followed sparked heated national, regional and international debates characterised by a set of divergent positions and perspectives (Mamdani 2009; Raftopoulos 2009; Moyo and Yeros 2007b). Some "welcomed the reversal of a racially skewed distribution of land while others condemned the end, in principle, as well as the means" (Cliffe, Alexander, Scoones and Gaidzanwa 2011: 907). Five schools of thought and academic positions can be discerned, namely neopatrimonialism, human rights, livelihoods, the nationalist, and the political economy approach or perspective. Closer scrutiny of the intellectual debates in the voluminous scholarly work on the latest land reform programme in Zimbabwe dubbed the Fast Track Land Reform Programme (FTLRP) or 'fast track' in short (Chari 2013: 292) testifies the extent to which gender is always treated secondary to other matters.

2.2.1 The Neopatrimonialism School of Thought

One of the perspectives used to analyse the FTLRP, and its outcomes was the neopatrimonial school of thought. Gray and Whitfield (2014) described neopatrimonialism as informal

patron-client relationships and networks pervaded with high levels of corruption, nepotism and political clientelism. Neopatrimonial leaders are argued to arbitrarily use state resources to reward supporters for their loyalty, including personal enrichment and accumulation. It is argued a small fraction of the distribution trickles its way down to the patron-client network to benefit the local communities with consequent increases in inequality (Gray and Whitfield 2014: 4-6). Neopatrimonial language, discourses and analyses on Africa are suffused with the belief that underneath every policy lurks neopatrimonialism (Mkandawire 2015: 563). In support, Daniel Bach conceptualised the term as "providing the common denominator of a range of practices that are highly characteristic of politics in Africa viz. despotism, clannish behaviour, so-called tribalism, regionalism, corruption, predation, factionalism, patronage and cronyism" (2012: 221). Providing a critique of neopatrimonialism in understanding the political economy and economic performance of African states, Mkandawire (2015) argues that while the "concept offers little analytical content and has no predictive value with respect to economic policy and performance", it has been used to make forecasts based on what is widely known as the logic of patrimonialism (Mkandawire 2015:563). The rise of neopatrimonialism as an all-purpose and convenient name for African governance (Mkandawire 2015: 563) coincided with the FTLRP and thus used as a perspective to analyse it.

A large corpus of academic writing on the FTLRP had been produced within the neopatrimonial school of thought to interpret and understand the processes leading to, the predictions and explanations of the outcomes of the FTLRP. Scholars utilising this perspective highlighted the corruption, mismanagement and elite accumulation in the land reform process (see Hammar, Raftopoulos and Jenson 2003; Raftopoulos and Phimister 2004; Bond and Manyana 2003; Campbell 2003). These scholars sought to critically investigate the competing agendas of participants in the FTLRP including political elites, war veterans, peasants and the negative effects of the reform on former commercial farm workers (see Alexander 2006; Sachikonye 2003; Kriger 2003, 2005). This school of thought argued that the ruling party, ZANU-PF, instrumentalized the FTLRP as an electioneering tool as the former President Robert Mugabe sought to persuade people to vote for him and his political party in an impending election. This was against the backdrop of waning support base following the rejection of the 2000 Referendum, which was literally translated to a defeat of the ruling party by the opposition which had mobilised for the 'No Vote' (Alexander and McGregor 2013).

Clientelism, cronyism and elite capture during the fast track could not be ruled out totally, particularly in the 2000s with the heightened political tension between the ruling party ZANU-PF and the opposition Movement for Democratic Change. While the programme did not become entirely an elite affair dominated by the ruling party's elites (Moyo *et al.*. 2009; Scoones *et al.*. 2010), the neopatrimonial school partly explains the constituency of the majority of land beneficiaries to be ZANU-PF supporters (Richardson 2005; Campbell 2008; Bond 2008) as fast track areas were no go areas for opposition supporters. Consequently, the reform programme turned out to be a ruling party exercise of parcelling land to its rural and urban support base (Rutherford 2008:77; see also Alexander 2006). While Moyo and others are at pains to substantiate the broad base of beneficiaries as emanating from across the political divide to include politicians, senior government officials, private sector officials, employed and unemployed urbanites, former farmworkers and white farmers and rural peasants (Moyo *et al.* 2009:1), this requires more nuanced analysis.

Marongwe (2011) investigated the outcomes of the FTLRP, particularly those who got A2 farms in Goromonzi District, one of the districts sharing a border with Harare and comprising prime productive agricultural land. His survey reported that members of the ruling party and security forces captured the land allocation institution in the district (2011: 1069). This resulted in the flouting of qualifying criteria such that over 88 percent of the beneficiaries in his sample of 65 A2 beneficiaries comprised government ministers; security services personnel (national army, the police, prisons and President Office), senior civil servants, prominent business people, and war veterans (Marongwe 2011: 1078). Much of these allocations included wholesale farm allocations or single divisions, yet Goromonzi District as a peri-urban area, plot sizes were limited between 2-30 hectares (Government of Zimbabwe 1999). This supports allegations of corruption in the allocation of A2 farms (Sachikonye (2004: 13). While this may be applicable to a district with its own peculiarities, Moyo *et al.* (2009) drawing a sample from six districts across the country insisted that their finding indicate that 82 percent of the A2 beneficiaries got land through government allocation in line with official qualifying criteria. However, in the A1 sector consensus is emerging that the majority of beneficiaries were ordinary people who came from rural as well as urban areas (Scoones and Mavedzenge 2010; Scoones *et al.* 2010; Moyo *et al.* 2009; Chambati and Moyo 2004; Elich 2011; Scoones *et al.* 2011; Scoones 2017).

Research has indicated that the majority of women, as clients, have not benefitted from state-

linked clientelistic relations to the same degree as men due to the former's exclusion from politics (Tripp 2001: 35). A qualitatively minute group of politically connected, privileged urban women tend to benefit at the expense of the majority of rural poor women (Munachonga, 1989 cited in Tripp 2001: 39). Such gendered kinds of analyses are missing in the mainstream neopatrimonial interpretation of the outcomes of the fast track land reform presented above. Little is known as to the extent to which women might have benefitted, if at all, through these state-linked clientelistic relations, particularly in the A2 commercial-oriented sector. Thus, while the neopatrimonial school is useful in shedding some light on the beneficiary constituency of the Fast Track Land Reform Programme, it falls short as gender is conspicuously missing. This takes us to the next school of thought, the nationalist perspective.

2.2.2 The Nationalist Perspective and the FTLRP

Related to the neopatrimonial school of thought, as a political analysis was the nationalist perspective, which saw the emergence of nationalistic discourses evocative of the past liberation struggles. The nationalist-populist perspective (Scoones 2009) placed emphasis on how the representation of the 'nation' has ramifications for the politics of identity, citizenship and legitimacy (Fry 2010: 6). Raftopoulos had also built on this approach, illustrating how it led to the marginalisation of certain groups of people in the land allocation process. The approach has tied authoritarian redistributive politics in Zimbabwe to a broader idea of pan-Africanism and anti-imperialism. It interpreted the FTLRP as a radical pan-Africanist political project. This school of thought argues that the Fast Track Land Reform Programme saw the redistribution of national resources in the face of neoliberal imperialism stressing the need to redress a history of injustice and dispossession (see Raftopoulos 2003, 2004; 2006). These scholars have noted the linking of the past and present depiction of the nation and national history as the 'historical resonance' of liberation histories reviving narratives of the liberation struggles (Raftopoulos 2004:165). As highlighted by Antony Smith (2000: 92), the idea of the 'nation' as a social construct projected by the elites was illustrated in the example of land—'the urge to possess land which characterises nationalism, is not confined to its political properties; the land is also the land of 'our ancestors', the historic land, and hence the desire for its symbolic value as much as it is a politically and economically empowering resource. This resonates with the response by a Nigerian Chief asked as to who owns the land. In summarising the principle of land ownership in an African context, the Chief had this

to say, *'l conceives the land as owned by the deceased, the living and the unborn'* a founding pillar of African land tenure relations (Chinamasa 2001).

The nationalist discourse approach provided a more nuanced understanding of how events in the post-2000 Zimbabwe have been presented through a set of 'national' claims, a specific framework of interpretation that read political realities as part of a national history and the Zimbabwean people as a specific kind of 'national subjects' (Fry 2010: 8). This has been borne out of the realisation that 'what is certain now is that any comprehensive analysis of current economic, cultural, and political developments cannot avoid addressing the attendant role of nations and nationalism (Day & Tompson 2004: xi quoted in Fry 2010). By tracing how elites configured the discourse and image of the Zimbabwean nation, it highlights the power of national discourses in shaping and understanding contemporary events in the country and how they have been interpreted and presented. Narrative representation of the FTLRP as the *third Chimurenga* cast the reform as a continuation of the battle of the Zimbabwean people against imperialism from the *first Chimurengas* of 1893, 1896/7, through the 1963-1979 *second Chimurenga* to claim their sovereignty and their land (Moyo and Yeros 2007a). The approach argues Zimbabweans reclaimed their ancestral heritage via a popular rural movement (Hanlon, Manjengwa and Smart 2013; Moyo and Yeros 2005). One of the outcomes of the FTLRP, which attracted sustained scholarly attention, was the fate of former commercial farm workers (see Sachikonye 2003; GoZ/IOM 2004; Hanlon *et al.* 2013; Moyo 2006; Moyo *et al.* 2009).

2.2.3 Nationalist Discourses and the Fate of Former Farm Workers

The nationalist perspective is particularly important in explaining the fate of former large-scale commercial farm workers. The reform is said to have excluded this social group resulting in them losing their employment and sources of livelihood thus turning them into squatters (Sachikonye 2003; GoZ/IOM 2004; Hanlon *et al.* 2013; Moyo 2006; Moyo *et al.* 2009:31). Other concerns include insecurity in terms of residence, farming land and labour tenancies (Magaramombe 2003; Moyo and Chambati 2004; Moyo *et al.* 2009:42).

While it is true that this social group has been largely excluded, apart from the evidence that one-tenth of the distributed land was allocated to former LSCFs labourers (Sadomba 2008; Moyo 2011: 508), the nationalist discourses which intensified during the run-up to the 'fast track' manifested itself in the Citizenship of Zimbabwe Amendment Act of 2001. With

particular reference to former farm workers of foreign origin, the Act required the former to renounce all foreign citizenship or any entitlement to it by January 2002. This exercise had potential "to disenfranchise an estimated 88 000 farm workers of 'foreign' origin mostly from Malawi, Mozambique and Zambia" (Chambati and Magaramombe 2008: 228).

Missed by many analyses on the fate of former farm workers (see Sachikonye 2003) is that this exercising of citizenry rights became subject to nationality and the result was the disenfranchisement of many whites and commercial farm workers (Fry 2010: 63). Nationalist discourses tend to reinforce exclusion for a variety of different groups (Raftopoulos 2003). As highlighted by Rutherford (2001) included in these groups were also coloureds and Asians who have been marginalised from development policies, political rights and social programmes in the country. Subsequent developments in this regard, particularly the Citizenship Amendment Act of 2004, though belated in terms of access to land, later stated that "all persons born in Zimbabwe but whose parents are from the SADC region will be exempted from renouncing their foreign citizenship and still be recognised as Zimbabweans. As such, they could obtain national identity registration, access various social services, and participate in national events such as voting" (Chambati and Magaramombe 2008: 228).

While the fate of former large-scale commercial farm workers was accorded prominence in these analyses, the unanswered question relates to other social groups that had the potential of being marginalised through evoking nationalist discourses, particularly those of the liberation struggle. Evident in these narratives is the elevation of the 'national' struggle above all other struggles, including women's struggles resulting in the subsuming of the latter under the former (Gouws 2005: 72). As was in the Zimbabwean case. As argued by Shireen Hassim, "nationalism has potential to marginalise alternative discourses, in particular those relating to feminism" (2005: 55). This is reminiscent of women's interests being subordinated not only during the war of liberation but also in post-colonial Zimbabwe (see Nhongo-Simbanegavi 2000). The cultural connection of land as 'the land of our ancestors,' its symbolic value, representations of 'the nation,' all have implications for politics of identity, citizenship and legitimacy which tend to marginalise women (Fry 2010: 6). Apart from merely stating that access to land for women has been marginal (Sachikonye 2003: 51), scholars in the mainstream inadequately explicated the underlying unequal power relations and politics of identity resulting in the marginalisation of women's interest in the polity. To what extent is this exclusion linked to issues of power and politics? These are critical areas worth

interrogating for a broader gender transformative agenda. I shall return to these questions in subsequent sections. Next, l discusses the human rights perspective to the FTLRP and its interpretation of the outcomes of the latter.

2.2.4 The Human Rights Approach

The human rights approach constitutes one of the mainstream writing on the FTLRP (Murisa 2008:127). This school of thought highlighted human rights violations, political violence, disregard of the rule of law and liberal norms of democratic practice including violation of property rights accompanying the fast track land reform process (see Holland 2008; Meredith 2002; Norman 2008). The processes of the FTLRP has been well captured in Worby's (2003: 67) descriptor of Zimbabwe's 'retreat from modernity.' This position was dominant in Western media and liberal press in South Africa and independent media in Zimbabwe (Raftopoulos 2006: 1), cohering in an image of an authoritarian leader presiding over the regression of norms of liberal governance.

While acknowledging the violence and human rights violations accompanying the FTLRP, critics had contentions on the elevation of human rights above all other attendant issues. The destructive aspects of the Fast Track Land Reform Programme and compensation of former white commercial farmers, opponents argued, overshadowed the debate on the land rights of indigenous Zimbabweans (Murisa 2008: 127; Mamdani 2008). Describing colonial land expropriation in western provinces of Matabeleland, Alexander and others argue that the forced evictions and violence were "exceptionally harsh even for Rhodesian standards" (Alexander *et al.* 2000). The neglect of the land question and giving the limelight to 'democracy' and violation of property and human rights, Raftopoulos argued, represented one shortcoming of the human rights perspective to the FTLRP (Raftopoulos 2006: 1). Such an anti-memory and ahistorical narrative, others argued, neglects the complex constellation of historical and social factors that gave way to the crisis and negates viewing the 'fast track' as a truncation of history from the *First Chimurenga* of 1896-97, through the *Second Chimurenga* of 1963-79 culminating in the *third Chimurenga* of 2000 (Chari 2013: 315; Fry 2010: 4; Ranger 2004: 220).

Reinforcing the above sentiments and highlighting the inevitability of the dominance of universal liberal capitalism Issa Shivji provided a critique of the human rights discourse:

> *"Human rights discourses have succeeded in marginalising concrete analysis of our*

> *society. Human rights ideology is an ideology of the status quo, not change. Documentation of human rights abuses, though important in its own right, by itself does not help us understand the social and political relations in our society. It is not surprising that in the absence of a political economy context and theoretical framework, much of the writing on human rights, constitution, rule of law uncritically reiterates or assume neoliberal precepts. As such human rights is not a useful theoretical tool for understanding social and political relations (Shivji 2003).*

Countering these criticisms, Richardson (2004) argued that by the turn of the millennium, four-fifths of former LSCFs had had more than one owner since independence. Less than a twentieth of farm owners were related to colonialists of the 1890s. Arguably, since most of the white farmers had purchased the farms, they were legitimate owners of the farms regardless of the history (Chibwana 2017: 37).

From a gender perspective, the human rights approach has been particularly important in highlighting sexual violence towards women farm workers, including women who participated in the land invasions who, allegedly, were forced to offer sexual favours in exchange of their names to be put on the distribution list (Manyonganise 2017: 116; Bhatasara 2011: 320; Chingarande, Mugabe, Kunjinga and Magaisa 2012; Human Rights Watch 2002). Explanations of such bodily violations fail to capture the unequal distribution of power and the concentration of the latter both in the public and private sphere within men. Consequently, female bodies become sites were these struggles for power are manifested as men seek to assert their dominance in control of female bodies (Manyonganise 2017: 115). The state, as shall be discussed, is also implicated in the attempts to control female bodies as a form of male dominance. How to transform these sexualized unequal relations is missing in these analyses for a more nuanced gender transformative agenda.

2.2.5 The Livelihoods Approach

A distinct set of scholars utilised the livelihoods perspective in analysing the outcomes rather than the processes of the FTLRP (see Scoones *et al.* 2010; Scoones 2009; Chaumba, Scoones, Wolmer 2003; Mkodzongi 2013; Mutopo 2011; Chiweshe *et al.* 2014; Cousins and Scoones 2009 among others). This approach, which focused on peoples, their assets and capabilities and how people use the resources and opportunities within their scope and the impediments they face in sustaining their livelihoods, has enriched the coverage and understanding of the

latest land reform in Zimbabwe. Its strength lays in micro-level analysis of the FTLRP, identifying diverse livelihoods pathways and resilience of land beneficiary households as they leverage on capitals available to them, particularly, land. Such empirical evidence had assisted academic discussions in moving "beyond policy prescriptions and their implementation to an analysis of what has been happening on the ground" as aftermaths of land redistribution highlighting local level socio-economic outcomes resulting from the reform (Cliffe *et al.* 2011: 907).

Its shortcomings lay in its failure to take into cognizance the role of global-scale factors and structural forces, particularly, the implications of economic globalization and monopoly capital on the livelihood outcomes of the FTLRP. Secondly, though a gender perspective had been included in the livelihoods approach (see Mutopo 2011; Chiweshe, Chakona and Hellicker 2014; Mutopo, Chiweshe and Manjengwa 2014; Shumba 2011; Chingarande 2008, 2010; Matondi 2012; Chiweshe 2014, 2015 among others) as they explored livelihoods options in the FTLRP, much of the scholarly work seldom disaggregate women as a category; their analysis suggests that a more exploration of sub-categories of women by household headship will prove valuable (Cliffe *et al.* 2011: 927). Besides, gender as a social relational variable, particularly interrogating the gendered effect of household distribution of labour, incomes and dynamics of consumption on welfare, has been inadequately analysed. This represents the lacuna that this research study endeavours to fill. Despite these limitations, the perspective had provided an important lens for a nuanced understanding of the outcomes of the FTLRP dispelling some of the peddled myths on the programme.

2.2.6 The Political Economy Approach

Documenting the trajectory of land relations in Zimbabwe including the FTLRP, the late Sam Moyo and colleagues used the political economy approach——"an analytical framework that places emphasis on the relations and distribution of resources among three classes viz. proprietors of land, owners of capital critical for cultivation and farm labourers by whose power land is cultivated" (Chibwana 2017: 47). The political economy approach to the FTLRP is rooted in enduring super-exploitative structural social relations of production, which restricted the peasantry social reproduction and accumulation from below. This dates back to the colonial land appropriation and alienation confining the peasantry onto marginal ecologically unproductive regions of the country. Prime agricultural land was preserved for individual white settlers, foreign agro-estates and businesses tied to minority locally owned

industrial foreign capital interests. According to Moyo and Chambati (2013: 5), this created "neither a settled industrial proletariat nor a viable peasantry" for the indigenous people but a semi-proletariat spreading over communal lands, LSCFs, mining and industrial workplaces. These class and racial features of the agrarian and national question defined the dynamics of the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe. As argued by Mkandawire (2001), land and agrarian reform were central demands of the nationalist movements and struggles for independence, seeking self-autonomy; majority rule as well as control over the economy and natural resources including land.

In Zimbabwe, with these aspirations remaining unfulfilled since the attainment of independence and without suggesting that the land and national questions had died, the FTLRP in 2000 represented a re-radicalisation and culmination of nationalism and anti-colonial struggle. Urban workers' retrenchments and cuts in social expenditures resulting from Structural Adjustment Programmes coupled with increased rural landless worsened poverty, particularly in the communal lands and extended land hunger (Yeros 2002). A restructuring of the dominant agrarian classes (landowners, merchant capital, agribusiness) and their super-exploitative relations to labour was eminent in Zimbabwe. This led to boldening of post-independence low profile land occupations (squatting) into country-wide mass mobilisation and revolt against, largely, white commercial farms and agro-estates in the countryside. These characterised the substantive class and racial struggles of pre-2000 Zimbabwe.

One of the redistributive outcomes of the FTLRP relates to the transformation of Zimbabwe's hegemonic pre-existing bi-modal agrarian structure. In 1980 the newly independent state inherited a bi-modal agricultural sector and land ownership favouring former settlers. Much of the prime land was occupied by a mere six thousand LSCFs, and a small number of extensive plantations juxtaposed close to a million peasant families and eight thousand black SSCFs. The FTLRP redistributed ten million hectares of productive land once occupied by 4500 LSCFs among close to 150,000 peasant families; over 20,000 middle-scale A2 farms, while retaining a few LSCFs and agro-estates (Moyo *et al.*. 2009; Scoones *et al.*. 2010, Moyo 2011). This comprise the new agrarian structure which Sam Moyo and others have termed a tri-modal agrarian structure comprising small-scale A1 and communal farmers (most); medium-scale A2 farms and large-scale and multi-national agribusiness estates. In the new tri-modal agrarian structure, small-scale family farms constitute over 90 percent of the

landholdings (Cousins 2013: 122). Consequently, some scholars concluded that the Zimbabwean case deserves careful analysis by whoever is interested in "the future of small-scale producers and alternative rural futures on the continent" (Cliffe *et al.* 2011: 109; Cousins 2013: 122).

The political economy approach had a couple of strengths above the other approaches that have been used to analyse the FTLRP. First, its stress on power relations enabled political economy scholars to identify socio-economic transformation brought about by the FTLRP. The transformation resulted from the transition from a dual to a tri-modal agrarian structure (Moyo 2011; Moyo *et al.* 2009; Cliffe *et al.* 2011: 909; Scoones *et al.* 2010: 6). The former was characterised by 78 percent of LSCFs located in areas of high agricultural and ecological potential of NR I, II and III, taking up over 50 percent of the country's agricultural land as of 1999. In contrast, there were 1.5 million overcrowded communal area households subsisting on less than half of the country's agricultural land, three-quarters of which was located in low potential marginal agro-ecological areas of NR IV and V. These areas are characterised by poor annual rainfall between 400-500 mm; prolonged dry periods during cropping seasons; infertile and rocky soils (Oxfam-UNDP/GEF 2015).

Secondly, the ability of the approach to engage with the global political economy enabled scholars writing from the perspective to locate the FTLRP within local, national and global politics. Unlike the livelihoods and other approaches, the approach assisted political economy scholars to bust some of the myths on the FTLRP. The approach enriched the understanding of the outcomes of the FTLRP as they relate to forces operating beyond the farm yet bearing on activities at the local scale. Third, its ability to engage with production and redistribution enabled this school of thought to analyse production trends, crop by crop at the national level. This had continued to provide a nuanced understanding of crop-specific production and productivity trends and extenuating factors post-land reform in Zimbabwe.

However, the political economy approach, as it lends more to Marxist analytical frameworks and its preoccupation with class, its utility becomes blunted "when it comes to categories of oppression such as gender' (Bhattacharya 2013: 1). It fails to link struggles in the sphere of production to those outside in the sphere of reproduction (Bhattacharya 2013: 1). Vogel "explains the connection between class struggles and women's oppression as struggles in the former, over conditions of production, represent the central dynamic of social development in a society characterised by exploitation" (Vogel 2013: 135). This represents the political

economy's transformative but incomplete insight, a perspective this study endeavours to employ in understanding the gendered outcomes of the FTLRP in Zimbabwe (see Chapter Eight). Secondly, regarding the processes leading to the FTLRP, highlighted by other approaches, particularly, the neopatrimonial and human rights perspectives, the political economy approach, though not condoning, pays little attention to the human rights violations and corruption accompanying the latest land reform in Zimbabwe.

Cumulatively, the preceding perspectives, theoretical approaches and schools of thought provided a balanced and nuanced analysis of the processes leading to; the implementation and outcomes of the FTLRP. The next section discusses the contribution of feminist and gender scholars, from both the hemispheres as they sought to highlight issues of women and gender relating to land reform and resettlement in post-independence Zimbabwe using various theoretical perspectives. This body of scholarly work forms the theoretical background onto which this study seeks to build on.

2.3 Theoretical Perspectives on Gender and Land Reform in Zimbabwe

Feminist and gender scholars in an attempt to understand the issues of women and gender in post-independence Zimbabwe land reform and resettlement programme have used various theoretical perspectives and approaches. The patriarchal perspective predominates both in analysing the outcomes of the fast track land reform (see Chiweshe, Chakona and Helliker 2014; Chiweshe 2015b, 2015a; Chiweshe 2011; Goebel 2005; Jacobs 2000, Jirira and Halimana 2008; Svodziwa 2019) as well as issues of women and gender in land reform and resettlement prior to 2000 (see Cheater 1981; Goebel 1999a; Jacobs 1983, 1992; Gaidzanwa 1981, 1988; 1995; Cheater and Gaidzanwa 1996). Similarly, a sizeable number of scholarly work sought to understand issues of women, gender and land reform using the negotiation, bargaining and agency perspective particularly with reference to the FTLRP programme (see Mutopo 2011, 2012, 2014; Goebel 2005; Chiweshe *et al.* 2014; Bhatasara and Chiweshe 2017; Mazhawidza and Manjengwa 2011; Chingarande 2008, 2010; Chingarande, Mugabe, Kujinga and Maguse 2012) among many others.

Other gender and feminist scholars had used a feminist Marxist approach in their study of women and land in Zimbabwe in both pre and post-2000 land reform (see Cheater 1981; Jacobs 1983; Mazhawidza and Manjengwa 2011). While it cannot be regarded as a theoretical approach, some scholars had incorporated a legal perspective to understanding the

situation of women in relation to land in post-independence Zimbabwe (see Mushunje 2001; Bhatasara 2011; Bhatasara and Chiweshe 2017; Ranchod-Nilsson 2006; Gaidzanwa 2012; Jacobs 1983; Jacobs and Howard 1987; Shumba 2011). Lately, and critically important in feminist studies is the use of the intersectionality theoretical perspective by Bhatasara and Chiweshe (2017) in analysing the gendered effect of the FTLRP. These theoretical perspectives and approaches collectively enriched the understanding of the gendered outcomes of the post-independence land reform and resettlement in Zimbabwe.

2.3.1 Patriarchy, Women and Land in Zimbabwe

Patriarchy as a structuralist perspective has been variously defined as a system of male domination and subordination of women and children in the private (family) and the public (society in general) (Scott 1986: 1058; Weber 1978: 359; Lerner 1987 cited in Chigbu 2019: 40). Scholars seeking to understand the origin of the socially constructed male domination over women found its origins in the family (Sydie 2007: 4; Weber 1978). As a system of structures, practices, discourses and ideologies the institution of patriarchy oppresses and marginalises women resulting in differential access to scarce resources by gender (Paul and Rami 2017: 2). With regard to land, Manase Chiweshe defined patriarchy as a system that oppresses and marginalises women in terms of access to land and livelihood opportunities (Chiweshe 2015b; Chiweshe *et al.* 2014: 1). This is supported by Allison Goebel who defined the concept as a system comprising a set of institutions, practices and ideologies responsible for the marginalisation of women in terms of access to resources including land (Goebel 2005: 44). Gender and feminist scholars writing on land and resettlement in post-independence Zimbabwe sought to understand the extent to which patriarchal institutions, practices and ideologies had disadvantaged women in access to land relative to men. These three: patriarchal institutions (the family, state, marriage/lobola, inheritance); patriarchal practices (within the institutions of the family; state) and patriarchal ideologies frame the ensuing discussion on the outcomes of the land reform and resettlement in post-independence Zimbabwe from a gender perspective.

2.3.1.1 The Patriarchal Institution of the family

Patriarchy has been found to have its origins in the private institution of the family (Weber 1978) from whence it is extended to other institutions in the public sphere, including the state (Lerner 1987 cited in Chigbu 2019: 40) In addition to these two, also discussed here is the

exclusionary tendencies of the two patriarchal institutions of marriage and inheritance in terms of women's access to land. Feminist scholars have highlighted the family as one site of male domination and subordination of women, which extends to the control over economic and productive resources such as land. As the family, whose control is male-dominated, mediated access to land for women, they tend to be disadvantaged in the process (Goebel 2005: 33, 38; Chiweshe *et al.* 2014: 3). Land belongs to men not women as such the latter had to seek access to land within the family mediated through a male, who can be a husband, father, brother, son or such (Mazhawidza and Manjengwa 2011: 13; Bhatasara and Chiweshe 2019: 159; Gaidzanwa 2011: 9). This 'mediated' access is linked to women's land insecurity in the event of death or divorce highlighting the inherent and pronouncedly patriarchal nature of resettled households (Jacobs 1983: 34; Chiweshe *et al.* 2014: 11; Chingarande 2008: 278). Examining how women access to land is mediated through patriarchal systems, Chiweshe and others concluded that the FTLRP constitute a lost opportunity to reconfigure gendered tenure systems, as the former had remained unscathed (Chiweshe 2014: 3; 2015a; see also Matondi 2012: 185). Any discussion of patriarchy and women's access to land is incomplete without a discussion of the patriarchal institution of the family.

2.3.1.2 The Patriarchal Institution of Marriage

The institution of marriage and the marital status of women have been highlighted as the most important factors influencing women access and relationship to resettlement land (see Chenaux-Repond 1993; Jacobs 1991 cited on Goebel 2005: 44). As explained by Allison Goebel, a woman's entitlement to resettlement land was tied to her marriage to a male plot holder (2005: 35, 37). This is supported by scholars highlighting the historicity of social institutions arguing that women's access to land has been historically mediated through the institution of marriage via the husband or other male kin relations as brother, father or uncle (Berger and Luckmann 1966: 54; Giddens (1984: 23, 301 Connell 1987: 246). This partly explains women's secondary as opposed to primary rights in land, with the latter predominantly a male prerogative. Thus, women's access to land became contingent to the internal dynamics of marriage through which the state has historically been reluctant to intervene under the guise of preserving a culture, or 'interfering in private matters' (Goebel 2005: 61). In this regard, feminist scholars had long challenged the nature of the private to address inequalities resulting from the state's reluctance to intervene in 'so-called' private or domestic arrangements (UN OSAGI 2002 cited in Meer and Sever 2004: 24). The

implications of such do not end with women's lack of access to and control over resettlement land but also its produce as it carries "proper gender and power relations in marriage' (Goebel 2005: 60, 64). Thus, the position of women in marriage is already compromised with regard to access to resettlement land within the household. Just as highlighted by Yancey Patricia Martin regarding the interconnectedness of social institutions (Martin 2004: 1258), the institution of marriage, in the predominantly Shona and Ndebele cultures of Zimbabwe, is closely knit with the social institutions of lobola and inheritance.

2.3.1.3 The Institution of Inheritance, Lobola and Women's Heirship in Land

In many African societies, the payment of *lobola/rovoro/roora* (bridewealth) in marriage is critical in the configuration of power that constructs space, identity and women's position of dependence (Kesby 1999: 30). The unequal power relation permeating social institutions and relations, simultaneously allocate privilege/advantages and subordination/disadvantages to incumbents of different positions (Martin 2004:1258). Thus, the transfer of bridewealth from the kin of the husband to the wife's kin represents not only the creation of a social bond between the two lineages but also a transfer of the woman's productive and reproductive capacities from her kin to that of her husband and his kin (Bourdillon 1987). Consequently, the woman is expected to labour for her husband and his relatives rather than her own and children produced from the union belong to her husband's rather than her lineage" (Schmidt 1990:635; Yngstrom 2002:29).

With regard to inheritance in land, the payment of lobola in marriage involving patrilocal mobility is highly significant "to the construction of female identity" as 'impermanent,' thus positioning them as non-heirs with no direct inheritance rights under customary arrangements (Kesby 1999:30; Apusigah 2009:53; Chiweshe *et al.* 2014: 7). Thus, upon the death of the male titleholder, culturally, widows lost their rights in land to the husband's male relatives or son since they could not inherit the land (Bhatasara 2011: 324). This has not been uncommon in both old and new resettlement areas despite the existence of provisions allowing widows' succession of resettlement permits (Goebel 2005: 89). Thus, in inheriting resettlement land, just as in the customary communal areas, women lost out. A study of freehold small-scale commercial farming areas established pre-independence by Angela Cheater (1981) found similar common practices. She states that upon the death of the male titleholder, under the African Wills Act of 1933, African customary law will prevail except where the deceased had a Will (Cheater 1981: 372; Gaidzanwa 1981: 123). Simultaneously, these social institutions

acted to discriminate against women's access to and control over land and should be objects of reform if tangible benefits are to accrue to women as a social group.

2.3.1.4 Household Patriarchal Practices

The marginalisation of women in access to and control over land is not only through patriarchal institutions but also practices within the household, community and the state. Within marriage, patriarchal practices expect husbands to allocate a piece of land to their wives *'tseu'* from their land allocation for the cultivation of women's crops (see Mutopo 2011: 1021; Jacobs 2000, 1998, 1983: 33; Goebel 2005: 67; Chenaux-Repond 1993). This power to allocate land within the household is bestowed upon them through the institution of marriage (Mazhawidza and Manjengwa 2011: 13). Such a gendered practice of land allocation leaves access to land, a critical livelihood and economic resource, for women dependent on the discretionary whims and largess of men (Goebel 2005: 67). Some husbands manipulated this power to allocate land to wives as a carrot and stick——a form of reward for subordinate wives availing their labour to the husband's field (Cheater 1981: 363) and stick for insubordinate and 'stubborn' wives. The practice of husbands allocating land to their wives has not been a uniform practice across resettlement sites as the relative abundance of land in resettlement was not a guarantee for this (Chenaux-Repond 1993). While Chimedza (1998) found most wives being allocated land, Jacobs (1991) found only 37 percent women allocated land in her sample. While these authors did not interrogate how women got to access resettlement land, scholars utilising the negotiation, bargaining and agency perspective discussed below shed more light into these household gender dynamics.

2. 3.1.5 Women and the Patriarchal State

Feminists scholars have indicated that the modern nation-state is 'founded on patriarchal attitudes and norms of behaviour" resulting in the marginalisation of women in all spheres of life (Chingarande *et al.* 2012: 67). Citing MacKinnon (1982: 532), the authors described the state as "male in the feminist sense as it treats women the same way men sees and treats women" (Chingarande et al 2012: 67). Thus, the state is highly masculinised from its male-dominated administrative structures comprising male village heads, Councillors, District Administrators resulting in none representation of women's interests with regard to land (Gaidzanwa 2011: 8). The reported sexual violations of women during the Fast Track Land Reform Programme (Manyonganise 2017: 116; Bhatasara 2011: 320; Chingarande, Mugabe,

Kunjinga and Magaisa 2012; Human Rights Watch 2002) with no recourse for the address provided for affected women illustrate the patriarchal nature of the state. More detail on the patriarchal nature of the state and how it conceptualised women under the law since independence is discussed in greater detail under the legal perspective discussed below.

2.3.1.6 State Patriarchal Policies and Practices: The Unitary Household Concept

State patriarchal practices include the state policy of allocating resettlement land to 'household heads.' The designation of 'settler' in Phase One land reform and resettlement as either married or widowed disenfranchised a large section of women who were either single; divorced or separated but desiring to own land (Mazhawidza and Manjengwa 2009). As highlighted by Jirira and Halimana (2008), underlying land reforms in Zimbabwe were the pervasive influence of patriarchal institutions and functionaries involved in the programme. The LAA of 1930 and the Native Husbandry Act of 1951 unashamedly discriminated against women's access to land as "they specified only men as holders of farming rights" (Gaidzanwa 1981). Similarly, in post-independence Zimbabwe resettlement land allocations targeted male heads of households to the exclusion of women, customarily not considered as household heads, thus entrenching female dependence on men (Chingarande 2008: 277; Chiweshe *et al.* 2014; Gaidzanwa 2011; Chiweshe 2015a; Mazhawidza and Manjengwa 2009; Moyo 1995; Dekker 2004a; Goebel 2005; Gaidzanwa 2011: 5). Consequently, by 1984 less than one-twentieth of resettled households were female-headed with widows constituting the majority (Dekker 2004a). Resultantly, women as a category were generally disadvantaged in land resettlements post-independence (Ranchod-Nilsson 2006: 60).

In addition, the allocation of land to households or families not to individuals (Mafa *et al.* 2015: 113) based on a 'unitary household' concept fail to conceptualise households as contested sites permeated with unequal power relations (Apusigah 2009: 53; Hobson 1990: 236). Public policies crafted on the male-breadwinner model with the implicit assumption of the household as a unit of shared interest where resources are shared equally have long been questioned by feminist scholars (see Jacobs 1983: 44; Araya and Chung 2015: 139; Korpi 2000). The unitary household model on which most social policies are based has been rejected in a variety of country settings despite remaining powerful in explaining many phenomena (Quismbing and Maluccio 2000:1). Instead of a unit of shared interest it will be fruitful to conceptualise the "household as a relatively stable coalition of adults with partly shared, partly conflicting interests, a bargaining unit where negotiations can cover a wide

range of decisions (Korpi 2000:129; Quismbing and Maluccio 2000: 7; Hobson 1990: 237).

In recognition of the above and in an attempt to protect the rights in land for married women, the Zimbabwean government introduced joint naming/registration for married couples in 2005 even though the process was not applied in retrospect (Chiweshe, Chakona & Hellicker 2014: 6). While the authors argue that joint titling loosens the grip of patriarchy on land, which tends to disadvantage women, others noted that the majority of land permits issued were in the name of the husbands (Chingarande *et al.* 2012: 67; Moyo 1995; Jacobs 1993: 136). A survey of couples in old resettlement areas showed that 98 percent of "permits given for crop and grazing lands in Model A (family-based) schemes were held by husbands against a mere 2 percent for wives (Gaidzanwa 1988). The survey by Moyo (1998) indicates that 75 percent of registered landowners were male, about 20 percent of the farms were jointly owned, less than 5 percent were owned by women and below 4 percent of the land was owned by black women." Thus, the involvement of the state in land registration and issuing of permits resulted in the creation of new rights through the state to the disadvantage of women (Yngstrom 2002: 24). Thus, Yngstrom (2002) makes a very "strong case against vesting particular individuals or groups with superordinate power" as this tends to disadvantage some social groups within society.

2.3.1.7 State Patriarchal Ideologies

As argued by Patricia Yancey Martin, accompanying social institutions is a "cognitive and normative legitimating ideology created by elites who benefit from such arrangements to proclaim the rightness and necessity of such social practices and relations" (Martin 2004: 1257; Berger & Luckmann 1966: 110). Scott (1986), defining gender described it as comprising both the structural and ideological aspects of the relations between the sexes (Scott 1986: 1057). She defines the latter as "relating to the system of ideas and ideals or a set of normative beliefs and values concerning economic and political theory and policy" (1986: 1057). Thus, ideologies are intangible as they refer to the mind making them difficult to transform without conscious effort targeting them. The institutional conceptualisation of the 'settler' as male and subsequent allocation of land to male household heads' thus creating a hierarchical land titling structure and the characterisation of women's rights as subordinate and dependent on those of men is part and parcel of the patriarchal ideology (Mazhawidza and Manjengwa 2009; Apusigah 2009; Gaidzanwa 2011: 4). This is well captured in Jacobs (2000) below:

> "The Minister without Portfolio and for Resettlement (*later became Vice-President*), late Joseph Msika, in response to a question about why women did not have land rights, said at a press conference: *"Because I would have my head cut off by men if I gave women land... men would turn against the government." Msika added that giving wives land, or even granting joint titles, would `destroy the family.*"

Such patriarchal ideologies are not only reflected in Ministers' public utterances but also framed state policies, including those relating to land reform and resettlement. This explicitly explains why women, generally, did not benefit from the reform since independence.

The patriarchal perspective sufficiently addresses inequalities between males and females including those relating to land in a very profound way as it "provides an analysis internal to the gender system asserting the latter as the basis of all social organisations" (Scott 1986: 1058). Using this perspective gender and feminist scholars managed to highlight the extent to which women were disadvantaged not only within the household but also as a result of patriarchal state policies that have a bearing on household gender dynamics (Svodziwa 2019: 8). Generally, its shortcomings lie in its failure to show how gender inequality shapes other forms of inequality not related to it (Scott 1986: 1059). Additionally, the perspective perpetuated the homogeneity and victimhood narrative of women in land and agrarian reforms failing to capture the agency and various strategies used by women to access land not only within the household but also within state structures. This frames the perspective utilised by the other gender and feminist scholars accusing the latter as uncritically reproducing western feminist perspectives (Bhatasara and Chiweshe 2017: 155, 158).

To improve the position and welfare of women relative to men, and the realisation of a gender transformative agenda, I argue, such patriarchal institutions, practices and ideologies should be the target of gender-transformative social policies (see Chapter Six). The patriarchal perspective to gender and land reform in Zimbabwe has been accused of perpetuating the 'the victimhood, passivity and homogeneity of women' disregarding not only their agency but also heterogeneity (Bhatasara and Chiweshe 2017: 158; Mazhawidza and Manjengwa 2011: 7; Mutopo 2011: 199). This became the preoccupation of gender and feminist scholars highlighting women's agency, bargaining and negotiation capabilities.

2.3.2 Negotiation, Bargaining and Agency Theory

The bargaining approach suggests that different members have different interests in land

ownership and rights such that their opportunities for preference and conflicting interests should be negotiated (Razavi 2007, cited in Chigbu 2019: 42). Negotiation is a theoretical position holding that land rights and access to land depends on people's capability to negotiate, manipulate rules and norms and to straddle different institutions (Berry 1993 cited in Izumi 1999: 10). Agency is defined as the individual actors' "capacity to process social experience and to devise ways of coping with life even under extremely difficult conditions (Long 1992 cited in Mutopo 2011: 199). These three concepts agency, negotiation and bargaining have been used to counter the 'passive' depiction of women despite the structural disadvantages posed by patriarchy (Goebel 2005: 87; Scott 1986: 1057). This led Chiweshe *et al.* (2014) to conclude that despite patriarchy being "a system of domination it is invariably a negotiated system" (2014: 1). The greater percentage of women accessing land in the A1 model attests to their agency as they actively participated in the land invasions during the fast track despite the 'highly masculinised' environment of war veterans (Mutopo 2011a: 1027, 2011b: 197; Mutopo 2012, 2014; Bhatasara and Chiweshe 2017: 154; Chiweshe *et al.* 2014: 3; Mazhawidza and Manjengwa 2011: 7; Chingarande *et al.* 2012: 73).

Post-land invasions, women were found to be negotiating and bargaining with patriarchy both in the public and private spheres to enhance their access to land. In their study of Goromonzi District, Mazhawidza and Manjengwa (2011) argued that because of the empowerment brought by the FTLRP, "old and new actors are negotiating the path" providing opportunities for women to negotiate with patriarchy despite men clinging to traditional customary systems Mazhawidza and Manjengwa 2011: 7). The emerging farm level institutions outside the communal areas, due to the FTLRP were found to provide opportunities for the transformation of social and other relations, including gender (Chiweshe 2015a). In her study of women land beneficiaries in Mwenezi District of Masvingo, Mutopo documents how the FTLRP has opened new economic opportunities for women not only in the form of crop production but also for a diversified portfolio of off-farm economic activities involving the sale of agricultural products in South Africa (Mutopo 2011a: 1021). Manase Chiweshe, using a conceptual framework of gendered dimensions of social capital, investigates female involvement in emergent forms of social networks and relations, which have emerged as a result of the FTLRP and how it is impacting on their access to resources (Chiweshe 2015a: 40). All these mechanisms have created some measure of economic independence for some of these entrepreneurial women. Others have highlighted the changing gender relations and shifting of bargaining power within households as more women received access to land either

formally or informally (Jacobs 2002: 889; Chakona 2011; Hanlon *et al.* 2013).

The approach has been useful in highlighting the various livelihood opportunities for women provided through the FTLRP (Chiweshe 2015b; Chiweshe *et al.* 2014; Mutopo 2011a; Mazhawidza and Manjengwa 2011). However, it lacks being gender-transformative as it neglects individual structural constraints, which determine access to economic and political power including class, race, ethnicity (Mafa *et al.* 2015: 110; Izumi 1999: 11). In addition, it ignores the unequal power relations between women and men in negotiating the terms and conditions of transaction even within the household (Chigbu 2019: 42). Despite isolated references to women activism in land tenure, particularly the role of the Women and Land Lobby Group (WLLG) and the setting aside of 20 percent quota for women (Hilhorst 2000:194; Goebel 2005; Mazhawidza and Manjengwa 2011: 11; Mafa *et al.* 2015: 133) these discussion have been restricted to household dynamics within the family or the private sphere. They have been divorced from the broader women struggles in the economy and the polity with roots dating back to the liberation struggle (Essof 2013: ix, 33-36). As argued by Rudo Gaidzanwa land is just but one of the many areas of gender inequality not isolated from inequalities in other spheres including the economy and polity (Gaidzanwa 2012: 74; Ranchod-Nilsson 2006: 60). This takes us to the legal perspective to women and land in post-independence Zimbabwe and its attendant outcomes.

2.3.3 The Legal Perspective

Related to women's broader struggles, their participation in the liberation struggle alongside men provided the impetus for post-independence demands for more gender equity in all spheres of life (Essof 2013: ix). Consequently, several gender progressive laws were passed to eliminate 'all' forms of discrimination emanating from gender-biased cultural norms and practices. Some targeted discrimination within the economy such as the Sex Disqualification Act (1980) which allowed women to hold public office; Minimum Wage Act (1980), Equal Pay Act (1980); the Labour Relations Act (1984) making provisions for equal pay for equal work and maternity leave for women (Essof 2013: 34; Mafa *et al.* 2015: 125; Ranchod-Nilsson 2006: 60). These legislations improved the position of women in the workplace (economy). Some legislations dealt with relations between women and men in property rights, sexuality and marriage, that is, family law. Among these included the Matrimonial Property Rights Act 9(1985); Deceased Persons Family and Maintenance Act (1989);

Administration of Estates Amendment Act of 1997 (Nkiwane 2000: 328; van Eerdewijk and Mugadza 2015: 21).

In addition to these were general laws, which, while appearing gender-neutral, had different impacts on women and men. Significant among the general laws was the enactment of the Legal Age Majority Act (LAMA 1982). The Act conferred majority status to all Zimbabweans at age 18——for women it was a status bestowed upon them for the first time in the history of the country (Ranchod-Nilsson 2006: 60; Ncube 1997: 13; Jacobs and Howard 1987: 31). Prior to that, women were regarded as legal minors. Paradoxically, the statutory provisions of LAMA on many areas of personal law came in contradiction to customary practices of the institutions of marriage, inheritance and lobola as it bestowed upon women rights they could not exercise under customary law (Ncube 1997: 13; Mafa *et al.* 2015: 125; Ranchod-Nilsson 2006: 61). Equipped with insights from these gender progressive legal reforms, gender and feminist scholars sought to extend them to issues relating to women and land only to find the situation to be riddled with profound contradictions. Some related to legal pluralism, that is, the application of customary and statutory law in issues relating to women and land (Mutopo 2011:1027). Others attributed the challenges to the lack of social legitimacy of formal laws resulting in their non-implementation to ensure gender equality (Izumi 1999: 15; Hillenbrand and Miruka 2019: 13). Thus, the basis of all gender inequalities including inequalities in land between women and men was found to be located in the Constitution (Nkiwane 2000: 326; Bhatasara and Chiweshe 2017:160-161; Ncube 1997: 3; Svodziwa 2019: 6; Mushunje 2001).

2.3.3.1 The Constitution: Source of Gender Inequality

Prior to the enactment of the current Constitution of 2013, there existed within the Constitution host exceptions, which provided discrimination against women in terms of access to and ownership of land (Ncube 1997: 3). The most notorious was Section 23 (3) (a, b) which recognised the application of African customary law on matters relating to marriage, property on death and matters of personal law (Bhatasara and Chiweshe 2017: 160; Svodziwa 2019: 6; Ncube 1997: 7). Resultantly, none of the policy documents that guided the implementation of the FTLRP from the Land Reform and Resettlement Phase Two Framework (1997); the Inception Phase Framework Pan (1998) which guided the implementation of Land Reform and Resettlement Programme Phase Two, commonly referred to as the FTLRP, were gender-sensitive (Svodziwa 2019: 6; Bhatasara and Chiweshe

2017: 161; Mazhawidza and Manjengwa 2011: 11). This contradiction in the Constitution is commonly highlighted in the most cited case of Magaya vs. Magaya and the attendant high court ruling.

2.3.3.2 The 1999 Supreme Court Ruling and Prospects of Female Land Ownership

Coming on the heels of the implementation of the FTLRP was a landmark ruling on the Magaya vs. Magaya case denying inheritance rights to women specifying that only men could inherit (Ranchod-Nilsson 2006: 40). Supreme Court Judge Justice Gibson Muchechetere was quoted as saying:

> *"It must be recognised that customary law has long directed the way African people conducted their lives and the majority of Africans in Zimbabwe still live in rural areas and still conduct their business in terms of customary law…. women cannot be considered equal to men before the law because of African cultural norms" (cited in Ranchod-Nilsson 2006: 49). Women should never be considered adults within the family, but junior males or teenagers (Zulu 1999: 88 cited Jacobs 2000; Essof 2013: 51).*

With this ruling, the prospects of women access to, and ownership of land were foreclosed despite their gains in the legal sphere described above (Jacobs 2000). Some scholars were quick to caution, "the formalization of women rights through the common law was not extended to matters relating to land" (Svodziwa 2019: 11). Thus, the struggle for the recognition of Zimbabwean women as equal citizens in all sphere of life is far from over (see Cheater 1981: 374).

2.3.4 Feminist Marxist Perspectives

While a few scholars have utilised this perspective in their analysis of issues of women and land in Zimbabwe (see Mazhawidza and Manjengwa 2011; Cheater 1981) it remains an important perspective to the analysis of gender issues. Marxist tradition presupposes that "the dual system of capitalism and patriarchy is the origins of and changes in gender systems as families, households and sexuality are all products of changing modes of production due to shifting power relations between various actors (Scott 1986: 1059; Mazhawidza and Manjengwa 2011: 6). In a study of relations of production in small-scale commercial agriculture (Cheater 1981) found such a context as producing quite distinct relations of

production from the traditionally accepted gender division of labour characteristic of subsistence agriculture (1981: 350). While features such as the appropriation of surplus from women as wives and the use of polygyny as a form of labour recruitment (Goebel 2005: 80; Chenaux-Repond 1993; Jacobs 1983: 42) other forms of labour recruitment were evident. In her study, she found recruitment of resident dependent kin through traditional patriarchal relations of production to supplement family labour under capitalist modes of production. Theoretically, she concluded that commercial agriculture might not simply rest on capitalism but also on the strange mixture of capitalist forms of production and peasant relations of production" (1981: 37). While Cheater's study pertained to freehold small-scale commercial agriculture (the former African Purchase Areas) established during the colonial times, Mazhawidza and Manjengwa applied a feminist Marxist perspective to understand the outcomes of the FTLRP in Goromonzi District. They concluded that "as power is continuously shifting, contested and negotiated between various actors 'old and new actors are negotiating the path, producing trade-offs as the process unfolds" with women also influencing the processes and creating opportunities for themselves (Mazhawidzza and Manjengwa 2011: 7). However, missing in these analyses is the consideration of reproduction of the labour force upon which capitalism is dependent on and the extent to which this a applicable to resettlement areas (Chapter Eight). In addition to the classical feminist perspectives to the analysis of issues of women and land in post-independence Zimbabwe, novel approaches are being applied to further the understanding of gender and the land reform of 2000.

2.3.5 Intersectionality Perspective

Intersectionality is a theoretical perspective credited to Kimberle Crenshaw (1991) who first introduced the concept emphasising that gender intersects with other axes of inequality including "race, class, ethnicity, sexual and regional modalities" (Gunnarsson 2011: 25-26). Intersectionality, in gender studies, is an invaluable analytical tool in explicating gender, poverty, inequalities, and diverse forms of oppression (Shields 2008: 301). As an analytical approach, intersectionality posits that each "person is positioned in society at the intersection of multiple social axes" (Gopaldas and Fischer 2012: 393). As such feminist scholars making use of this perspective argues that, "unless other power relations than gender are taken it account there is danger of obscuring other categories of women as the latter is not a homogenous category (Gunnarsson 2011: 25). In the study of gender and land reform in

Zimbabwe the intersectionality perspective has been recently used and incorporated in two scholarly works (see Bhatasara and Chiweshe 2017; Tekwa and Adesina 2018). Within the Transformative Social Policy framework, Tekwa and Adesina (2018) discussed the extent to which the social identities of class, race, ethnicity and marital status had influenced gender, poverty and inequality in the aftermath of the FTLRP. Key to their findings is that widowhood remains a key vulnerability attribute in the communal areas but not important in resettlement areas as households headed by this category of women were found to be among the food secure (Tekwa and Adesina 2018: 57). Indicating that 'women are not just women,' Bhatasara and Chiweshe (2017) found that in Goromonzi District, in the periphery of Harare, women utilised privileges emanating from their class, patronage and political relations to secure land in this highly coveted district not only ahead of other women but also men (2017: 165). Thus, the intersectionality perspective remains critically important in understanding the gender and welfare outcomes of the FTLRP programme in Zimbabwe.

2.4 Beyond the Private: Women and the Outcomes of the FTLRP in Zimbabwe

Just as many scholars have restricted the use of gender to kinship system; households and family as the basis of social organisation (Scott 1986: 1067), scholarly work reviewed above had conceptualised issues of gender and women's access to land within the dynamics of the family and the effect of state policies on the latter. Issues of access to resettlement land have not been adequately broadened to include not only kinships but also the economy and how this links to gender transformation in the polity (Izumi 1999: 9; Jacobs and Howard 1987: 28). Male domination is not only social (kinships) but also economical (economy) and political (polity) and any transformational agenda has to take all these three into perspective. Below is a brief excursion touching on some of these pertinent issues to the discussion of gender, women and land in Zimbabwe.

2.4.1 Gender, Politics and Power in Zimbabwe

Rudo Gaidzanwa (2012) draws attention to the nexus between women's representation in the polity and the wider benefits, impacts and outcomes including those relating to land (Gaidzanwa 2012: 74). Table 2.1 below shows women's representation in politics and governance structures between 2000 and 2020. The table illustrates the lack of transformation in Zimbabwean polity more that three decades post-independence. This resonates with Joan Scott (1986) conclusion that "politics remains a stronghold of the resistance to the inclusion

of the material or question about women and gender" (1986: 1072). Juxtaposing Table 2.1 on the lack of transformation in women's participation in the polity with the gendered outcomes of the FTLRP, Table 2.2 reveal the necessity of extending the analysis of women and land beyond the social (kinships and families) to issues of power and politics (public). Interestingly, women representation (averaged) in politics and governance structures in Zimbabwe during the period in question and even prior never exceeded 20 percent. A closer scrutiny of the provincial outcomes in terms of allocation of land by gender during the FTLRP presented in Table 2.2 reiterate similar percentages. The national average for the A1 sector, which is the best, is pegged at 17 percent and that for the A2 at 12 percent.

Table 2.1 Women in Politics and Governance Structures in Zimbabwe (2000-2010)

Year / Institution	2000			2005			2010		
	Total	Women	%	Total	Women	%	Total	Women	%
National Assembly	150	14	9.3	150	24	16.0	214	32	15.0
Senate	-	-	-	66	21	31.6	99	24	24.2
Combined Parliament	150	14	9.3	216	45	20.8	313	56	17.9
Cabinet	-	-	-	31	4	12.9	41	7	17.1
Local Authority	-	-	-	2500	355	14.2	1989	373	18.8
Average (%)			9.3			19.1			18.6

Source: Tolmay, and Morrta (2010) cited in Gaidzanwa (2012: 74)

Table 2.2 Provincial Land Allocations under the FTRP by Gender

Model of Resettlement / Province	A1 Model		A2 Model	
	% Male	% Female	% Male	% Female
Midlands	82	18	95	5
Masvingo	84	16	92	8
Mashonaland Central	88	12	87	13

Mashonaland West	81	19	89	11
Mashonaland East	76	24	-	-
Matabeleland North	87	13	79	21
Matabeleland South	84	16	83	17
Manicaland	82	18	91	9
% National Average	83	17	88	12

Source Government of Zimbabwe (2003)

I argue, women's struggles and the equitable distribution of resources by gender cannot be understood in isolation from the broader political transformation in the country. This reiterates gender and feminist scholars longstanding question on state's commitment to women's issues and gender equality in Zimbabwe, which has always been ambivalent (Essof 2013: 36; Ranchod-Nilsson 2006: 49).

2.4.2 Women in the Economy and Participation in Commercial Agriculture

The Zimbabwe Statisctical Agency, in its women and men profile summary statistics revealed that 66.8 percent (two-thirds) of paid employees and 70 percent of employers were men (ZimStat 2016: 31). A similar study as early as 1981, the National Manpower Survey (1981) that focused on trained personnel, revealed that a mere 8 percent of professionals, skilled and semi-skilled workers were female including European women (Jacobs and Howard 1987: 34). The total for all occupations stood at 13.7 percent out of which black women constituted 5.4 percent (Jacobs and Howard 1987: 34). These statistics reveal the gendered nature of the economy not only in Zimbabwe but world over. With the post-2000 slogan 'Land is the Economy and the Economy is Land,' the exclusion of women in the ownership of the productive base of the economy implies their exclusion from the economy. Exclusion of women in land ownership presented in Table 2.2 above particularly the commercialized A2 model, by translation, implies their exclusion from participation in the economy with implications for their economic welfare relative to men.

Land reform and the participation of women in commercial agriculture, particularly the A2 model, represents one of the neglected areas of research in exception of reference to women's entrepreneurial activities by Manjengwa and Mazhawidza (2011; Hanlon *et al.* (2013:158) Mutopo (2011) but still in the A1 farming model. Much emphasis has been placed on women

in the traditional subsistence forms of agriculture, mainly the A1 farms with little known about the experiences of women who got A2 farms irrespective of their minute numbers. This study will endeavour to fill that lacuna by documenting the experiences of A2 women sugarcane farmers in the southeast district of Chiredzi. In addition to these and particularly important to women in resettlement areas relates to the provision of support infrastructure (Chiweshe *et al.* 2014: 8). The next section on provision of infrastructure and support services seeks to integrate the particular importance of the question of gender and social reproduction in the context of land reforms, one important dimension explored within the TSP perspective.

2.5 Infrastructure Support Services in Phase One Resettlement Programme (1980-98)

One of the objectives of the Phase One Resettlement Programme (1980-1998) was to "expand or improve the infrastructure and services that are needed to promote growth and economic production" (Gonese and Mukora 2003:3). The provision of infrastructure was "prompted by the need to complement the emplacement process of incoming communities and ensure that they have access to necessary social services" (Gonese and Mukora 2003:13). As such policy prescriptions "specified infrastructure provision criteria to guide both planners and implementing agents in determining the quantities and locations of the items required". Box 1 below provides a guideline on service provision in Phase One Resettlement areas for social services only.

Box 1. Planning Criteria for Providing Physical Infrastructure, Social and Support Services (1980-98)

Water Supplies

- Water supply repair and new installations. Domestic needs: 1 borehole (with hand pump) per village of up to 25 families

Social Services

- Primary Schools project funded at a rate of one classroom per 20 families with staffing done by the Ministry of Education
- Secondary Schools were based on self-reliance by beneficiaries in consultation with the Ministry of Education
- Clinics project funded at a rate of 1 per 300-500 families with staffing by the Ministry of Health

Housing

- 2-bedroomed house financed through the Improved Rural Housing Programme (1984/85) on repayable credit.

Adapted from the Intensive Resettlement: Policies and Procedure Documents Government of Zimbabwe, September 1980 (Gonese and Mukora 2003:15).

Funding for infrastructure development was "provided by the government on a programme basis through the Public Sector Investment Programme (PSIP) budgetary allocations to the then Ministry of Lands, Resettlement and Rural Development" (Gonese and Mukora 2003: 14). On the other hand, resettled beneficiaries "made significant contributions by providing labour, own resources and locally available materials to minimise costs" (Gonese and Mukora 2003: 14).

As a result, Phase One Resettlement Programme had been applauded by many as having attained evidently considerable achievements in making available the necessary social services to resettled communities (Bratton 1994; Rukuni 1994 cited in Gonese and Mukora 2003). The researcher's personal visit to one scheme juxtaposing one of the research sites, Nyangambe Old Resettlement Scheme, showed electrified and piped water resettlement villages with a well-built and furnished primary and secondary school, and a health facility close to a business centre where grinding mills, shops and bars were located. Apart from enhancing general living standards within rural communities, from a social reproductive perspective, such government efforts contributed to lessening the social reproductive burden on women, thus enhancing their individual and household welfare.

2.5.1 Infrastructure Support Phase Two Resettlement Programme (2000-2004)

As highlighted by Gonese and Mukora, it was not in all cases that physical and social infrastructure preceded settler emplacement within the Phase One Resettlement Programme. The phase had an 'Accelerated Programme' in which settlers, initially occupy land illegally but after authorisation by the government, provision of the requisite social services subsequently follow. In their view, this exemplified earlier versions of the Fast Track Resettlement Phase Two with similarities in the retrospective approach to social service provision, only differing in scale and time in which services will follow (2003:16). Phase Two Resettlement Programme (the Fast Track) did not perform very well in comparison to the earlier phase, and various scholars had highlighted the lack of service provision in fast track areas with severe implication on the welfare of women (Chiweshe *et al.* 2014; Chingarande 2008; Mazhawidza and Manjengwa 2011; Bhatasara 2011; Goebel 2005). This has implications not only on women's productivity in fast track areas but their welfare in general. This subject will be explored in greater detail in subsequent chapters, particularly Chapter Eight focusing on the FTLRP and the social reproductive dimension of the TSP

perspective. Below is a brief outline of the outcomes of the FTLRP in Masvingo Province, where the study district is located.

2.6 The FTLRP and Water Reforms of 2000

The 'Land Question' and the 'Water Question' are inseparable but seldom discussed in tandem in the literature on land reform in Zimbabwe. Important to note is that, the colonial "inequitable division of land simultaneously mirrored the unequal distribution of, and rights to water between African communal areas and white commercial farms, as codified in the 1976 Water Act" (Musemwa 2008: 4). This was a product of riparian "rights to water which are often claimed on the basis of land" ownership with implications that "where land distribution is skewed against the poor", as in most former settler colonies, "water is also likely to be unevenly distributed" (Namara *et al.* 2010:524). Resultantly, as the post-colonial government had also inherited a colonially skewed land distribution, addressing the 'Land Question' by implication required addressing the 'Water Question,' to eradicate inherent inequalities in access to water (GoZ 1981). This was compounded by gender, in which lack of access to land for women "mutates into lack of other productive resources" including access to water for irrigation (Agarwal 1994, 2003; Matondi 2012). As such it can be argued that within former settler colonies the 'Land Question' is a 'Water Question' and by extension a 'Gender Question' with dire implications for the welfare of female in relation to male-headed households. Women are not only disadvantaged in access to land but also access to productive water. Thus, as argued by the first president of Mozambique Samora Machel, women need to be fully integrated into the process of transforming production including having a stake in the distribution of resources and the fruits of their labour if their emancipation is to be a reality (Machel 1973 as quoted in Urdang 1989:96).

Zimbabwe's political crisis of the 2000s had engendered a series of interconnected crises. The LAA of 2000 enabled the government to compulsorily acquire and redistribute land to hundreds of thousands rural and urban households. The redistribution expanded the size of smallholder land under irrigation, as the former LSSCFs were sub-divided into smaller units before redistribution. However, the water legislation that existed was inconsistent with reality existing on the ground. "More (potential) water users were applying for water rights, yet the existing legislation (the 1976 Water Act) was not sufficiently flexible to accommodate more players" (Zimbabwe Report Water Resources Management, Supply and Sanitation undated). This was evident "in highly committed areas, where almost all available water had been

allocated; therefore, new users could not be accommodated" (Zimbabwe Report Water Resources Management, Supply and Sanitation undated). This contradiction made water reforms imperative. Resultantly, the Water Act of 2001/2 annulled the notorious 1976 Water Act, abolishing the prior system of water allocation. This ensured a more equitable distribution of water in the national interest for the development of all sectors of the economy (Mpala 2004: 839; Zimbabwe Report Undated) resulting in land beneficiaries accessing water for productive purposes. This was particularly important for Chiredzi— the study district which is located in Natural Region Five characterised by low rainfall.

2.7 Outcomes of the Fast Track in Masvingo Province

Masvingo Province measures 56 566 km^2 and had a population of 1 486 604 (ZimStat 2012) with six administrative districts namely: Gutu, Bikita, Chiredzi, Chivi, Masvingo, Mwenezi and Zaka. Chivi and Zaka are communal districts and did not have any LSCFs, but their people were allocated farms in neighbouring districts. For instance, those from Zaka occupied farms in Chiredzi, the district of focus for this study. According to the Presidential Report, "a total of 649 farms measuring 2 622 147 hectares were gazetted for compulsory acquisition in Masvingo Province. Out of the gazetted farms, 196 farms were delisted for several reasons including indigenous ownership, church ownership, protection under the Bilateral Investment Promotion and Protection Agreement (BIPPA), designation as conservancies, plantation farms (sugar estates), and state land" (Utete 2003). Table 2.3 below present outcomes of the FTLRP in Masvingo Province showing the land distribution in terms of numbers and area distributed across A1 and A2 farming schemes.

Table 2.3 Total Beneficiary Allocation Masvingo Province

A1 Farmers		**A2 Farmers**		**Total No of Farmers**	**Total Area Resettled 000 ha**	**%Total Area**	
No of Farmers	Area 000 ha	No of farmers	Area 000 ha			A1 Area	A2 Area
33 197	528.452	1 348	796.628	**34 545**	**1,439,912**	40%	60%

Source: (Marongwe 2004; Moyo 2011; Utete 2003).

A total of 34 545 households benefitted from the distribution of 1 439 912 hectares of land under the FTLRP in Masvingo Province. Smaller A1 family farms occupy 40 percent of the

distributed land, while the remaining 60 percent went to A2 farms (Marongwe 2004). The two-third of the total area covered by A2 farms is not surprising given the dominance of large-scale sugar production in the province, particularly in Chiredzi District. This gives a general overview of how the FTLRP played out in Masvingo Province.

At the district level, Chiredzi District alone has a total of 15 510 households who benefitted through the FTLRP composed of 14 877 and 632 A1 and A2 farmers, respectively (Key Informant Interviews Chiredzi District Agricultural Officer 28/10/16). If Marongwe's (2004) figures of 71 percent and 29 percent male-headed and female-headed household beneficiaries are anything to go by this translates to 11 012 and 4 498 male and female A1 land beneficiaries respectively.

2.8 Conclusion

Whether the opening remarks by Angella Cheater remain true four decades after independence is debatable, but a tapestry of gender and issues of women provided in the chapter suggest that gender and women struggle in Zimbabwe is far from over. This is in spite of the concerted effort by feminist efforts both inside and outside the academia to highlight concerns for gender equality not only with regard to land but also in all spheres of life from the society, politics and the economy. The next chapter provides some of the approaches, which can be adopted, from a social policy perspective to transform unequal social relations, including gender.

Chapter Three

Conceptual Framework: Transformative Social Policy

3.0 Introduction

In a way to situate gender within the TSP framework, the prelude to the chapter condenses the vast feminist contribution to the study of the welfare state in the context of the OECD countries. Contextualising the TSP within the Zimbabwean context, this prelude is followed by a thorough discussion of the different social and economic policies in post-independence Zimbabwe, beyond the FTLRP and the various social policy instruments deployed to secure the welfare of citizens, successfully or not. This background introduces the conceptual framework, the Transformative Social Policy, its norms, functions, instruments and outcomes. The chapter concludes highlighting the importance of social policy to pay attention to social norms, values and practices which pose as potential impediments to gender transformation despite progressive legal reforms.

3.1 Gender, Social Policy and the Welfare State

Feminist contribution to the study of welfare states had highlighted the gendered nature of the mainstream comparative welfare state research (see Esping-Andersen 1990; Korpi 1989; Esping-Andersen and Korpi 1987; Kangas 1991; Palme 1990; Esping-Andersen 1999; Korpi and Palme 1998). In his classical scholarly work, Esping-Andersen (1990) identified three welfare state regimes namely: the social democratic; the liberal welfare and the conservative regimes each with different countries classified therein (see O'Connor 2013:143). A contention with feminist scholars was neither with the regimes nor the country classification but the foundational dimensions upon which these welfare state regimes were premised. Among these dimensions were the concept of decommodification (as concept referring to the extent to which an individual is protected from total dependence on the market); the organisation of services targeted vis-à-vis universalism; conditions of eligibility and the "relationship between the market and state" in welfare provision (Sainsbury 2008:98; see also O'Connor 2013: 144; 1993:502).

Feminist contributions pointed to serious lacunae in the mainstream, particularly, its failure to recognise the role of "systems of social provision and regulation" in both the reproduction and transformation of gender hierarchies and traditional family structures (Orloff 1993, 1996;

Sainsbury 1994). Little has been written, they argued, on how and the extent to which welfare vary in their gender content and their its on gender relations and inequality (Orloff 1993:303, 1996). In addition, they highlighted the extent to which gender is implicit in foundational and seemingly gender-neutral terms such as citizenship, work, claims and family (Orloff 2009: 320). Where gender was later incorporated in mainstream writing, its relational character was ignored with emphasis placed on its individual attribute (Orloff 2009:318; O'Connor 1996). Yet, considerable evidence indicates that gendered division of household work influence and "shape men's and women's work preferences, practices and opportunities" (Orloff 2009: 6). "Gendered identities, including orientations to work and family, are not pre-political or natural," rather they are products of social policies alongside "political and social institutions which are involved in shaping and reproducing gendered work preferences, needs and desires" (Fraser 1989 cited in Orloff 2009: 6). As such feminist scholarship had highlighted the "mutual influence of systems of social provision and regulation on gender relations" (Orloff 2009: 322). They emphasised "how gender relations were infused in welfare state policies and the extent to which social policies" were a factor in patterning and reproduction gender relations (Orloff 1993: 306). These feminist insights were in addition to the need to problematized several mainstream concepts, including citizenship/social rights, work, (in) dependence, autonomy, care, equality, politics and political agency and claims inquiring how they are gendered (Orloff 1993: 306).

3.1.1 Citizenship and the Welfare State

The "development of the welfare state is regarded as a gradual transition from class to citizenship-based access to services and benefits (O'Connor 2013:138). Yet, the meaning of citizenship and its political application has always been contested. As a *Janus-faced* concept, critical citizenship theory had put on the limelight the simultaneous processes of exclusion and inclusion embedded in citizenship both as a concept and a practice from micro to macro level whether focusing on nation-states or other geographical boundaries (Lister 1997:143; Yuval-Davis 1993: 624). As highlighted by feminist scholars, the exclusion of women is part of a "social construction of the entitlements of men to democratic participation which conferred citizen status not upon individuals as such, but upon men in their capacity as members and representatives of a family-a group" (Vogel 1989: 2). According to Pateman, the "whole social philosophy, which was at the base of the rise of the notion of state citizenship was constructed in terms of the 'Rights of Man" (Pateman 1988). Thus, feminist

scholars have highlighted how citizenship struggles of exclusion and inclusion along ethnic, racial, class and gender have been missed and are completely out of Marshallian nation-states boundary theories of citizenship (Yunal-Davis 1991 quoted in Lewis 1997). This formed the basis of sustained feminist contention on the current meaning, shortfalls and yet potential transformative power of citizenship as a concept (Lister 1997: 2). In addition to problematizing the concept of citizenship, the role of the family in the provision of welfare was another important issue raised by feminist scholars.

3.1.2 The Family and the Provision of Welfare

Unlike in the mainstream welfare research in which the role of the family in welfare provision is ignored (see Esping-Andersen 1990: 41), feminist analyses have drawn attention to the family as a key site of welfare alongside the state and market (Orloff 1993:311,1996; O'Connor 1996; Lister 2010:64). Feminists have argued that welfare only 'counts' when provided by the state and market yet unpaid work in the homes goes unnoticed and assigned no monetary value (Orloff 1993:311,1996; O'Connor 1996; Lewis 1998; O'Connor, Orloff and Shaver 1999). This recognition and its consistently gendered analysis mark out feminist contribution to the study of social policy and how families interact with other institutions namely "the state; the market and the voluntary sector" with different outcomes for women relative to men (Razavi 2007). The extent to which the state underwrites social reproductive labour taking, it from families and the market, remains a political question. Thus, Hobson had argued that the state is women-friendly as to the extent to which it helps "shift the burden of welfare from the family to the state, or from women to men within the family thus furthering women's gender interests" (Hobson 2006).

Relatedly, one of the longstanding dimensions developed by the feminist research, concerns the basis of entitlements "and the unit used for granting access to benefits, tax allowances and services" (Sainsbury 1996). This, particularly, relates to the conceptualisation of the family unit either as an institution or a set of relationships (Lewis 1992, 1997). Walter Korpi highlighted the role of gender in intra-family differentiation of distributive processes emanating from the conventional assumption that family income is proportionally distributed within the household (2000: 129). In the same vein, Barbara Hobson (1990) highlighted the family as a crucial site of inequality rooted in differential command of economic resources between women and men. Thus, feminists had long questioned policies based on the family

or household as the unit of distribution and it's potential to improve the position and welfare of women (Orloff 2009:239).

3.1.3 Social Policy and the Ordering of Social Relations and Hierarchies

Social policy had traditionally been an active force in the ordering of social relations and reinforcing class hierarchies (Esping-Andersen 1990: 23; Orloff 1993: 214). The extension of social services—a distributive mechanism operating outside labour and capital markets——is not just aimed at class abatement but also suppresses class formation and inequality (O'Connor 1993:503). While "in theory, the citizenship-based-access" and entitlement is assumed at the least stratifying leading to a more egalitarian society, feminists have highlighted its stratifying effect along gender lines, particularly as little or no attention is paid to the latter (O'Connor 2013). The low-quality jobs for the few women able to participate in the labour market disproportionately disadvantage women as benefits often reflect work-related inequality (Orloff 1993). Since female participation in the labour force and quality of employment is constrained by social reproductive work, which is, in turn, gendered, entitlement outcomes invariably reflect gender variations. Thus, a gendered 'dual' or 'two-tier' welfare state exists—the social assistance and social insurance. A large proportion of women fall in the former group whose benefits and claims are based on familial or marital relationships, while the male clientele predominates in the later where entitlements to benefits and claims is directly linked to participation in the labour force (O'Connor 1993; Orloff 1993). Full-time paid workers are privileged over those who combine domestic with part-time paid work let alone those engaged in unpaid housework on a full-time basis. This, inadvertently, reproduces gender inequality as women usually carry out the larger proportion of housework. Social policies aimed at facilitating female labour force participation mitigate female economic dependence simultaneously enhancing their welfare including that of their children (O'Connor 1993; Orloff 1993).

3.1.4 Capacity to Form and Maintain Autonomous Households

Autonomy or the "capacity to form and maintain autonomous households, that is, to survive and support their children without having to marry in order to gain access to breadwinner's income" remains one of women's economic struggles (Orloff 1993: 319). Extending social rights to women through the provision of incomes enough to maintain autonomous households independent of breadwinner's income represents one policy measure to attain this

goal. Such policy is liberating for women; it protects them from "involuntary entering or staying in abusive relationships due to economic vulnerability" (Lister 2003: 172). With the contemporary unstable family unit, marriage breakdown foretell poverty and a decline in living standards for the majority of married women as a result of economic independence (Hobson 1990: 237; Weitzman 1985). Social policies facilitating the economic independence of women enhance not only their economic welfare but also general wellbeing.

While equity in employment and pay had remained a constant demand and a contentious issue to those advocating for gender equality (Hobson 1991b), the thesis that social policy can be measured by individuals' independence from work (decommodification) becomes questionable when it comes to female access to employment (Bussemaker and Kee 1994). Feminists have highlighted that the primary concern for many women excluded from paid labour is commodification rather than decommodification (O'Connor 2013:147). For many women and men obtaining a position in the labour force, is in fact, potentially emancipatory (England and Kilbourne 1990). The welfare state, for women, is a conduit for the possibility of commodification. The (un) availability of 'intergenerational' social policies those "related to the organisation of daily life" enabling reconciling work and family, such as publicly funded child and elderly care; maternity and parental leave; labour market policies related to length and flexibility of the working day, may facilitate or hinder the participation of women in the labour force (Hernes 1987: 47). These issues remain particularly important in any discussion of gender equality in welfare irrespective of context.

3.1.5 Gender Welfare Outcomes from Feminist Contributions

Using social policy as an advocacy tool, feminist scholars had managed to transform gender relations within the welfare state with different welfare outcomes for women relative to men. Areas briefly discussed below relates to female labour force participation, employment patterns, occupational segregation and wage gap; female economic independence and autonomy; gender division of work; household power dynamic gendered economic costs in divorce and lone mothers' and child poverty rates.

3.1.5.1 Female Labour Participation and Employment Patterns

High female labour market participation is one criterion on which the welfare state success been measured (O'Connor 1993:507). Public provision of care facilities to enable reconciling work and family is significant for mothers' employment (Lewis 1997; Hobson 1994). The

widespread availability of publicly funded childcare facilities had seen the social democratic countries embracing a dual-earner family model; pushing many women into formal employment with female labour market participation equal to that of males in Norway and Sweden (Leira 2002 cited in Orloff 2009: 326). The half-day access to pre-school and exclusion of children under the age of 3 from public child care in Germany underlies the low female labour force in this country with differentiated welfare outcomes for women and men (Jordan 2006: 1113). Similarly, as part of the gender employment structure, female employment patterns reflect social reproductive demands more than that for males (Orloff 2009:326; Hernes 1987). Care responsibilities have implications on female attachment to the labour market affecting their engagement in full-time employment, which is dotted with interruptions for child rearing (Stratigaki 2015: 37). Sweden provides up to one-year parental leave at 90 percent wage replacement rate while couples with children below the age of 8 are entitled to a 6 hour-working day 2-hour reduction from the norm (Jordan 2006: 1113). Contrastingly, in Germany, the unavailability of care alternatives comes with significant employment disruptions and income loss for women (Jordan 2006). Related to women's access to employment are female economic independence and financial autonomy.

3.1.5.2 Female Autonomy and Economic Independence

Rose (1981) had argued that capitalist relations of production, linked through patriarchal relations of redistribution guaranteed through the family wage, is closely entwined to women economic dependence on men (Rose 1981: 495-6). One of the gendered outcomes of the Swedish social policy is a low female dependence on men with only a small fraction totally dependent on husband incomes (Hobson 1990). In the Germany male-breadwinner model, women make a disproportionate share of the unemployed because of the strong trade-offs between participation in the labour market and raising children producing what is termed 'concealed poverty dependency' (Pahl 1989: 28; Jordan 2006: 1114). Female economic autonomy enhances their bargaining power not only in marriage but all social relations to achieve greater autonomy and social equality. It is the money; she gains through paid work that a woman feels has the power to allocate and describes as hers (Rose 1981).

3.1.5.3 Household Power Dynamics and Egalitarian Gender Division of Work

Access to paid work for women and the concomitant economic independence improves their bargaining power in marriage within the patriarchal society (England and Kilbourne 1990).

Feminist literature had indicated that household decision-making is closely related to earning power (Hobson 1990; Orloff 1993). A study of parental leave in Sweden found that the decision by the husband/co-habitat to take parental leave and its duration was dependent on the female spouse's economic contribution to family income (Hobson 1990). A crucial area within the household power and dependency dynamics where social policy can play a significant role pertains to unequal distribution of unpaid work between women and men within the household (Rose 1981: 496). The 'domestic labour debate', that is, whether it contributes to 'use-value' or 'exchange value had restored housework as visible labour. In the same vein, it is increasingly being recognised that encouraging men sharing in parental duties, even in the development context, is critical for progressive gender equality (Fraser 1994; Gornick and Meyers 2003). Policies that encourage and incentivize fathers to participate in care work, such as paternal leaves and fathers' quotas enable fathers to take care of babies while the mother returns to work, are likely to improve gender division of care work (Mathieu 2016: 580; Stratigaki 2015: 32). In Sweden and Norway, "the implementation of the fathers' quotas and the parental leave system was aimed at reducing the gender imbalance of child-rearing in the family" (Duvander *et al.* 2010). However, childbearing outside marriage and the instability of the latter present the challenge. It has been realised that one-parent households with no partner to split care work are on the increase coupled with the unpreparedness of employers to "reshape employment around the needs of 'encumbered workers" (Orloff 2009: 329).

3.1.5.4 Economic Costs in Divorce

A high degree of female economic dependence in marriage frequently translates into poverty and low living standards post-marriage dissolution. Studies conducted in several countries have indicated high economic costs of divorce for women (see Jenkinson 2015; Weitzman 1985). Resulting from a small fraction of Swedish women dependent on male income, divorce for them does not have the similar negative economic and welfare consequences as their American counterparts (Hobson 1990: 245; Weitzman 1985). Social policies such as "income maintenance for children, housing subsidies and reduced costs for day care and other social services" in Sweden are important in cushioning single-parent families' particularly lone mothers (Hobson 1990: 245). Social policies' enabling "the capacity to form and maintain autonomous households" provides women with individual freedom from the

compulsion to enter or remain in potentially abusive relationships due to economic vulnerability (Orloff 1993: 320).

3.1.5.5 Lone Mothers and Child Poverty Rates

The situation of solo/single mothers represent a 'test case" for the potential of social policy to address female socio-economic vulnerability (Lewis 1997). The level of supported employment through care services and generosity of welfare programs determine the relative poverty of solo mothers. In the USA and Germany where systems of social provision are restrictive with a high dependence on the market, relative poverty among solo mothers had remained high, with 45 percent in the latter living below the poverty line poverty (Jordan 2006: 1114). Social policies affecting the condition of lone mothers have a similar effect on poverty among children. The social organisation of care either via the market or the state is a question of politics but has implications on the accessibility and segregation based on the quality of care. Despite the provision of care being plentiful in the US, it is mainly marketized and unregulated with a stratifying effect based on the quality and cost of care. The effect on lone parents is similar to familialised care in Germany where child poverty rates among lone mothers are "six times higher among working single parents compared to single earning parents" (Jordan 2006:1114). In Sweden and other Nordic countries, despite the high cost of state subsidy resulting in quality public care services and good working conditions for caregivers, the rate of poverty among children of a single working parent is lower than that among single earning couples (Jordan 2006).

While the above feminist literature pertains to the welfare states it provide critical insights illuminating on the study of gender and social policy in the development context. Mkandawire (2004) had already hinted, though with development studies in mind, that "so little of the theoretical insights from the study of welfare states regimes in the Global North has found its way in developmental contexts" (2004: 3). It is often assumed that social policy does not exist in context outside the traditional welfare states, particularly so in Africa. The next section seeks to highlight the redistributive social and economic policies do exist outside countries of the OECD. The next section provides and overview of the various redistributive social policies since independence in a way contextualising the transformative Social Policy perspective within the Zimbabwean context.

3.2 A Review of Social and Economic Policies in post-Independence Zimbabwe

An analysis of Zimbabwe's economic and social policies since the dawn of independence can broadly be categorised into two namely; state-led interventionist development strategies of the first decade of independence and the economic liberalisation and market-led development strategies post-1990 (Zhou and Masunungure 2006: 9). The earlier phase comprised the establishment, build up and consolidation of existing state institutions, while the other saw a greater dismantling of many of the established state institutions for the provision of welfare. Paradoxically, the change in ideology came from the same government that controlled the state from the dawn of independence. While the earlier phase saw greater achievement in the social and economic front, the latter saw a general deterioration in the social and economic conditions of the people.

3.2.1 State-led Interventionist Development Strategies of the 1980s

The first decade of independence (1980-1990) saw the newly independent government crafting three main economic policies or development strategies focused on transforming the economy from one designed to serve a minority group to one serving the majority (Sibanda and Makwata 2017: 1). These comprised the Growth With Equity (1981-83); the Transitional National Development Plan (1982-1990) and the First Five Year Development Plan (1986-1990). A noticeable feature is that each subsequent economic policy was crafted to build on and consolidate the successes of its predecessor hence the remarkable achievements recorded in the first decade of independence. Below is a brief review of these state-interventionist policies.

3.2.1.1 The Growth With Equity (1981-82)

The Growth With Equity was the first post-independence economic policy statement with a strong emphasis on rural development, improving access to public service by the majority black population and employment creation (Zhou and Masunugure 2006: 12). The policy aimed at "achieving sustainable economic growth and speedy development in order to raise the incomes and standards of living of all people in Zimbabwe and expand the productive employment of rural peasants and urban workers, especially the former" (GoZ 1981). On the economic front, the Growth With Equity economic policy sought to place the control of economic activities in the hands of the majority black people focusing on the redistribution of

wealth, expansion of rural infrastructure and addressing socio-economic inequalities including land reform (Sibanda and Makwata 2017: 4). Through these interventionist strategies, particularly infrastructure investment, health and education, the period witnessed improved access to social services by the previously marginalised black majority (Zhou and Masunugure 2006: 12). Such redistributive policies through the fiscus were supported by an economic boom experienced during that period characterised by the high economic growth of over 10 percent and favourable domestic and external conditions (Sibanda and Makwata 2017).

3.2.1.2 Transitional National Development Plan (TNDP) (1983-90)

In line with the vision of the first post-independence policy statement, the TNDP targeted to achieve social justice with equity. The state assumed a greater role in the economy through promoting productive sectors of the economy; providing services and redistributing resources to address inequalities that resulted from discriminatory colonial policies (Sibanda and Makwata 2017: 7). This policy statement emphasised accelerating economic growth, a trend set by the Growth With Equity to enable the state to fund national projects. However, as observed by analysts, the prospects of growing the economy were hampered not only by low investment in the productive sectors of the economy, world recession but also the severe drought in the 1983/84 agricultural season (Sibanda and Makwata 2017: 7). While economic growth remained below the targeted 7 percent, notable achievements were attained on the social services (education and health) with many schools and clinics constructed, over 150,000 jobs created and enhanced agricultural production in the small-scale sector (Sibanda and Makwata 2017: 7).

3.2.1.3 The First Five Year Development Plan (1986-1990)

Consistent with socio-economic transformation, among the objectives of the First Medium Term Plan included control and transformation of the economy; economic growth; land reform and efficient utilisation of resettlement land; raising the living standards of the entire population, in particular, the peasant population; expansion of employment opportunities; manpower development and development of science and technology (Sibanda and Makwata 2017: 8). Noticeable in the three economic policies of the first decade was a focus on improving the welfare and productive capacities of the peasant population, an emphasis that got lost post-1990. In line with this objective, the government expanded irrigation, marketing

facilities and infrastructure in communal areas to enhance peasant production (Gonese and Mukora 2003). However, the period was not without its own set of challenges, particularly the severe drought of 1986/87 which negatively affected the output of both smallholder and large-scale farmers and others emanating from the economy such as inflation that remained high, rising budget deficits and rising external and domestic debt (Zhou and Masunungure 2006). Hence, in the second decade, the government sought to stabilise the economy by control inflation, reducing budget deficits to sustainable levels and curb the rising domestic and external public debt. This takes us to the second economic phase characterised by economic liberalisation.

3.2.2 Social and Economic Policies in Post-1990 Economic Liberalisation Era

While the economy was under stress but not necessarily in crisis, the onset of the 1990s saw a radical shift from a largely interventionist to laissez-faire economic policies through the adoption and implementation of the policy framework paper, the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP) in January 1991 (Sibanda and Makwata 2017: 9). The government emphasised that it would "de-emphasise its expenditure on social services and emphasise the material production of agriculture, mining and manufacturing" (Zhou and Masunungure 2006: 18). Economic liberalisation through ESAP targeted dismantling the social policy instruments used in the first decade as a vehicle to secure citizen welfare. The programme targeted reforming state enterprises; the civil service; labour laws reform; deregularising prices and agricultural marketing and the introduction of user fees in health and education services (Zhou 2000: 198; Sibanda and Makwata 2017: 9). Regarding land reform and resettlement, the emphasis was placed less on the landless and poor but the capable with an intention to create a class of emergent black large-scale commercial farmers (Moyo 2005: 159). The period 1991-1995 saw a greater undoing of not only the institutions created in the first decade but also the reversal of gains thereof. The disastrous effect of the liberal turn on the socio-economic conditions of the people forced the government to adopt the social dimensions of adjustment (SDA).

3.2.2.1 Social Dimensions of Adjustment (SDA)

As highlighted by Jenson "by mid-1990's neoliberalism had hit an ideational, political and economic wall" (Jenson 2010: 65). The envisaged economic growth and prosperity failed to materialise (Zhou and Masunungure 2006: 18). Social problems deepened, and poverty rates

mounted notwithstanding its promise that Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) will reduce poverty. It was "quite different from what politicians promised and people expected," and World Bank econometric models had predicted (Jenson 2010). Similar to UNICEF's 'adjustment with human face' the Social Dimensions of Adjustment (SDA) was promulgated to address the after-effects of SAP (Stewart 1991 quoted in Adesina 2011). Not departing from the targeting and means-testing, policy advice to the developing countries emphasised safety nets to remedy the 'social costs' of SAPs targeting those considered to be in dire poverty" (Adesina 2011: 457). This represented the reductionist approach to social policy (Yi 2015) or a reduced vision of social policy in the development context (Adesina 2011).

In Zimbabwe, the SDA was adopted in 1991 with the objective to minimise the social costs of economic adjustment on disadvantaged groups through the involvement of NGOs. The two-pronged programme consisted of the Social Welfare Programme (SWP) and the Employment and Training Programme (ETP). SWP provided money for food, assistance with fees, health care, while ETP dealt with financing small to medium enterprises and re-training and assisting those retrenched under the cost-cutting SAPs measures (Moyo and Makumbe 2000). The whole objective was to replace the former encompassing welfare system with a more discriminatory means-tested to eliminate the 'undeserving' beneficiaries. This introduced cumbersome bureaucratic procedures in the programme, making it difficult to implement at micro-level (Moyo and Makumbe 2000).

3.2.3 Post-ESAP Short-Term Economic Planning Era

The disastrous ESAP, which saw large-scale retrenchments and rising levels of poverty, was quickly replaced with the Zimbabwe Programme for Economic and Social Transformation (ZIMPREST 1996-2000) launched two years later after its adoption (Zhou and Masunugure 2006: 23). The programme failed dismally, and the economy got worse with rising inflation, interest rates, budget deficits, foreign currency shortages and domestic and external debt among many other economic ills (Sibanda and Makwata 2017: 4). Resultantly, numerous short-term economic policy statements, some less than 10 months, were promulgated to address the worsening social and economic conditions resulting from the introduction of EASP. In the basket of these economic policies included the Millenium Economic Recovery Programme (MERP 2000-2001); the National Economic Recovery Programme (NERP-2003); the National Economic Development Priority Programme (NEDPP 2005-2006); the Zimbabwe Economic Development Strategy (ZEDS 2007-2011). It was only after

dollarisation under the Short-Term Economic Recovery Programme (STERP I) in 2009 and STERP II (2010-2012) under the Government of National Unity (GNU) that stability was restored in the economy with a heterodox set of policies being prominent (Sibanda and Makwata 2017: 24-25). The expiry of the GNU saw the introduction of the Zimbabwe Agenda for Sustainable Socio-Economic Transformation (ZimASSET 2013-2018) (GoZ 2013).

2.2.3.1 Zimbabwe Agenda for Sustainable Socio-Economic Transformation (Zim Asset)

Zim Asset (October 2013 - December 2018**)** remains a key strategic framework document informing socio-economic transformation in the country. This Results-Based Agenda was built around four strategic clusters, namely: Food Security and Nutrition; Social Services and Poverty Eradication; Infrastructure and Utilities; and Value Addition and Beneficiation. Most important is the recognition of the agricultural sector as the backbone of the economy underpinning economic growth, food security and poverty eradication. In 2018, with the coming of the new government, the Transitional Stabilisation Programme (TSP) replaced Zim Asset as the guiding economic blueprint.

3.2.3.2 The Transitional Stabilisation Programme (TSP 2018-2020)

The current economic blueprint *Transitional Stabilisation Programme (TSP)* launched in October 2018 is expected to guide the economy until December 2020, though short-term, it makes reference to the creation of an enabling environment conducive for sustainable economic growth. The policy document seeks to implement development policy initiatives and programmes aimed at transforming the economy for the realisation of Vision 2030, the UN Sustainable Development Goals, and the AU Agenda 2063. Stabilising the macroeconomic environment, which had remained volatile and a potential risk, remains one of its priority areas. This is in addition to stimulating of economic growth and employment creation. Reflecting the change in ideology, the TSP document unequivocally states that the period will inevitably be driven by the private sector, with Government facilitating a supportive macroeconomic and business environment (TSP 2018: iii). Other critical areas in the TSP document important for the creation of a diversified, competitive and efficient agriculture sector include its reference to value addition and beneficiation; improving

Zimbabwe's investment and business climate; commitment to the implementation of policies; avoidance of arbitrary policy reversals and the absence of contradictory policy pronouncements. This is in addition to introducing the necessary policy, and institutional reforms for a private sector-led economy and reforms to state-owned enterprises and productive sectors of the economy.

For socially sustainable economic growth, the Programme recognises the need for empowering women the youths and other historically marginalised groups, including people facing physical challenges. While 2019 represented the initial financial year for the implementation of the TSP, during the first half of 2018, the Zimbabwe Investment Authority received 165 applications worth US$15.8 billion of investment (Government of Zimbabwe 2018: 15). The extent to which TSP will revive the economy is yet to be seen. The next section discusses some of the redistributive policies by the government since the dawn of independence.

3.2.4 Redistributive Policy Instruments 1980-1990

Discussing social policy and social spending in Zimbabwe (1980-2015) Mate (2018) pinpoints the various social policy instruments used by the government to intervene in the economy to achieve its redistributive objective. These included agrarian and land reform; labour market regulations; education and health care intervention and subsidies channelled through parastatals and state enterprises (Mate 2018: 2). Below is a brief discussion of these policies as they hint at the transformative orientation of government policies since independence.

3.2.4.1 Land Reform, Resettlement and Agrarian Support

The land reform and resettlement programme is one of the flagship government redistributive policies in post-independence Zimbabwe. The programme in the first decade comprised the redistribution of land to returning refugees and people displaced by war, the landless peasants residing in the overcrowded communal areas and those with insufficient land to support themselves and their families (Roth and Bruce 1994: 23; Jacobs 1983: 40: Kinsey 1999: 179). In addition to in-kind redistribution of resettlement land——as part of the agrarian support to resettled families and small-scale farmers in the communal areas——the government extended subsidised agro-credit to boost smallholder production through the state enterprise

Agriculture Finance Corporation (Mate 2018: 2). Over the course of the years unto 2000, land reform and resettlement remained one of the principal redistributive mechanisms used by the government to equalise access to resources and enhance the welfare of different sections of the society.

3.2.4.2 State Enterprises and Subsidies

One of the key mechanism through which the government implemented its redistributive social policies was through the establishment of parastatal and state enterprises, the majority of which were expanded during the First Five Year National Development Plan (1982-1990). In addition to the inherited and restructured state enterprises such as the Public Service Commission, the Agricultural Finance Corporation (AFC), the Grain Marketing Board (GMB), the government expanded these state institutions from 20 in in the early years of independence to 40 by 1990 (Zhou and Masunungure 2006: 13). As the authors argued, parastatals and state enterprises were used by the government as an instrument for promoting, developing, allocating, and distributing strategic and basic services and goods to society (Zhou and Masunungure 2006: 14). For example, through agricultural marketing boards, the government set producer prices for grain and other edible oils above world market prices as part of agrarian support to small-scale producers. The latter would have accessed subsidised agro-credit through the AFC. Urban millers and grain processors secured the grain from the GMB at a subsidised price enabling them to sell the products at lower prices keeping urban food prices indirectly boosting smallholder production from 8 percent to 45 percent by 1985 (Mate 2018: 2-3; Sibanda and Makwate 2017: 6). This indicates that there was greater intervention by the government to cushion its citizens through various forms of direct and indirect forms of subsidies. In addition to the above were government expansionary income policies and pro-labour legislation such as the Minimum Wage Act of 1980; the Employment Act (1980), expansion of the civil service and employment in other sectors of the economy (Sibanda and Makwata 2017: 4). These we coupled with government direct provision and finance in the health and education sectors (Zhou and Masunungure 2006: 6). Within a decade after independence, the net result was a marked improvement in living standards and welfare of both rural and urban households in Zimbabwe.

3.2.5 Redistributive Policy Instruments Post-1990

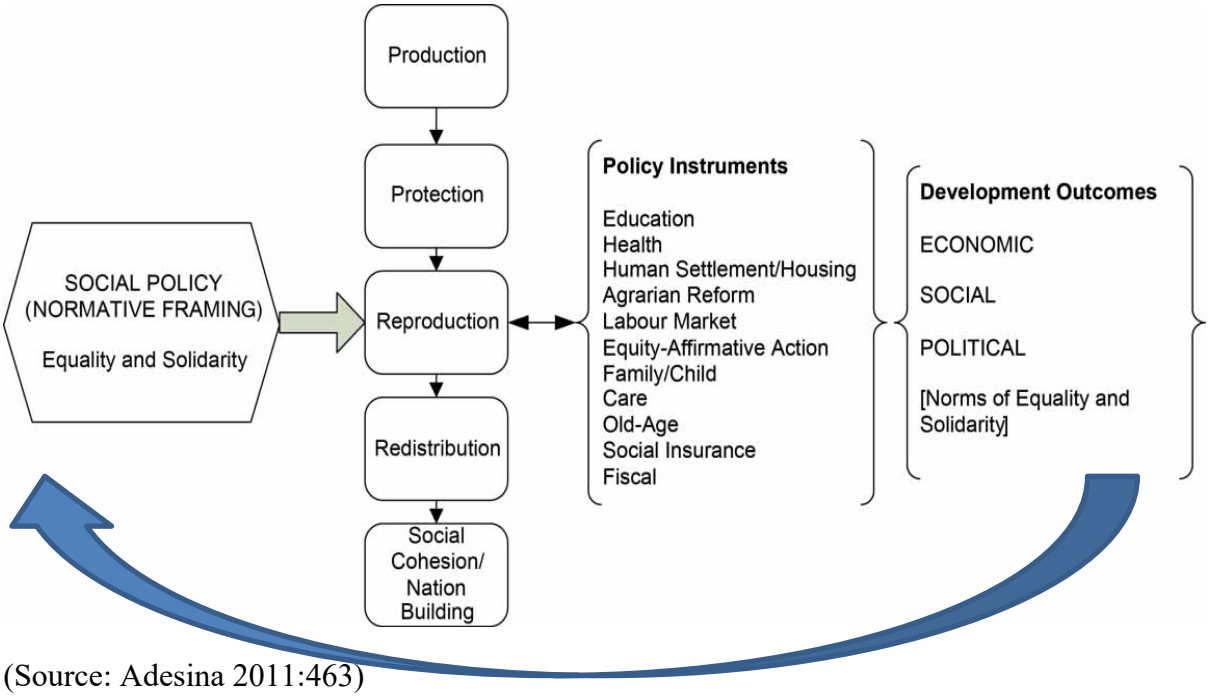
Even within a liberalised economy with a narrow vision of social policy, the World Bank noted Zimbabwe's uniqueness in its 'social protection' strategies which tend to emphasise agricultural inputs unlike the more prominent social safety nets interventions in the form of cash and food transfer or public works programmes (PWPs) (World Bank 2016: 10). In the period (2010-2015) in-kind agricultural benefit constituted the largest share of social safety net financing at 53 percent peaking to 67 percent in 2013. With reference to the latter, the Smallholder Input Support Scheme——the primary intervention supporting 1,6 million households in 2009—has been expanded by 40 percent between 2010 and 2014 (World Bank 2016: 2). This was followed by fee waiver in education through the Basic Education Assistance Module (BEAM) and the Assisted Medical Treatment Orders (AMTOs) in the health sector (World Bank 2016: 9-10). What this suggests is that enhancing the productive capacities of individuals, households and communities has been a key component of Zimbabwean social policy since the dawn of independence despite the constraints in the economy. Despite attention to gender being conspicuously missing in these policy interventions, the discussion sets the background to the conceptual framework—the Transformative Social Policy Framework.

3.3 Conceptual Framework: The Transformative Social Policy (TSP)

The transformative approach to social policy while, underpinned by a normative framework, defines social policy as "collective public efforts aimed at affecting and protecting the wellbeing of people in a given territory" (Adesina 2009: 38). Building onto this, Thandika Mkandawire defined it as "collective interventions in the economy to influence access to and the incidence of adequate and secure livelihood and income" (2004:1). In terms of origin, the Transformative Social Policy originated from the UNRISD flagship research programme, Social Policy in Development Context (2000-2006) which highlighted the centrality of social policy in development and leapfrog processes (Mkandawire 2004; UNRISD 2010). As opposed to neoliberal mono-tasking, TSP places emphasis on multi-tasking enabling social policy to achieve the multiple objectives of production, redistribution, social protection, social reproduction, nation-building and social cohesion (UNRISD 2010; Mkandawire 2005, 2006; Adesina 2007, 2009, 2011, 2015).

Figure 3.1 below presents the norms, functions, instruments envisaged within the transformative social policy and the attended social, economic and political development outcomes. As illustrated in the diagram, TSP offers a diversity of policy instruments which are important and relevant to a 'developmental context' in pursuit of citizen welfare. Some of the instruments are different from the conventional social policies typical in the literature on comparative welfare state (Mkandawire 2006).

Fig 3.1 Transformative Social Policy: Norms, Functions, Instruments and Outcomes



(Source: Adesina 2011:463)

They include education; health; housing; fiscal; pension; care and social insurance policies; regulation of private actors and social legislation including land and agrarian reforms as indicated in Figure 3.1 above. The next section briefly expands on the different tasks which can be assigned to a country's social policies including enhancing the productive capacities of individuals, households and communities; redistribution; social protection; social reproduction; nation-building and social cohesion goals (Hujo 2014; Mkandawire 2007; Yi 2015).

3.3.1 Enhancing Productive Capacities

The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) defines productive capacities as the maximum possible output of an economy (including agriculture, industry and service) and proposes productive resources, entrepreneurial capabilities and production linkages as key determinants of a "capacity of a country to produce goods and services" (2006: 61). More applicably, the term may also be applied to individuals' resources and assets (UNCTAD 2006: 61). Within the Transformative Social Policy framework social policies are capability-enhancing instruments through human capital and skills formation, infrastructure development (physical capital) and the incorporation of labour into saving (Prasad *et al.* 2013; Adesina 2006, 2007, 2009; UNRISD 2010; Mkandawire 2006). In developing human capital, education and training become key social policy instruments for enhancing the productive capacities of members of society. As such, there are policies countries can take to enhance the productive capacities of their citizens or households, for example, through the in-kind transfer of productive resources and assets, education, health among others. Prior to a discussion on that, a brief review of the productive functions of social policy in the context of advanced countries ensues in the next sub-section.

3.3.1.1 Social Policy and Production Regimes of Advanced Economies

Enhancing the productive capacity of individuals, households, communities and economies has been a key function of social policy in both advanced market economies of Europe and the newly industrialised nations of East Asia. As pointed out by Thandika Mkandawire "the most redistributive regimes of North Europe have tended to be the most conscious of the productive role of social policy" (Mkandawire 2007: 14; see also Kangas and Palme 2005). The author further argues, "social policy has undeniably been a constitutive element of the 'production regime,' yet such literature is less acknowledged in the developing countries" (2007: 14). In this regard, the productive function of social policy is well highlighted in the welfare production regimes (WPRs) literature attempting to link "two parallel developments in the systematic analysis of advanced capitalist economies" (see Estevez-Abe, Iversen and Soskice 2001: 146). One is the typology of welfare regimes (Esping-Andersen 1990) and the 'production regimes' of Hall and Soskice (2001).

Welfare production regimes (WPRs) are defined as a "set of product market strategies, employee skill trajectories vis-à-vis the social, economic and political institutions that support

them" (Estevez-Abe, Iversen and Soskice 2001: 146). The literature on WPRs links human capital formation and social policy to "explain the political economy of skills formation, education and investment in attempting to understand how countries with high levels of equality and redistribution have also been able to succeed economically" (Iversen and Stephens 2008). Human capital has been defined as "the collective skills, knowledge, competencies, and other intangible assets or attributes embodied in individuals", groups or communities acquired during their lifetime that can be used to create economic value through the production of goods and services or ideas in market circumstances (OECD 2007). Through vocational training systems, "skill formation and training regimes have been embedded in the much larger welfare policy concerns of these countries with ramifications beyond the economic to influence political and social relations" (Mkandawire 2007: 15; Chung 2014: 111; see also Baldock *et al.* 2007). This suggests that social policy has traditionally been assigned a productive enhancing function as opposed to the current residual social protection emphasis being promoted by international aid agencies in the developing world.

3.3.1.2 The Productive Function of Social Policy in Development Contexts

Outside the OECD, South Korea and other East Asia tigers recognised human capital development as a crucial area of transformative social policy and a basic institutional condition for successful industrialisation and economic growth (Chung 2014:116). Assigning social policy the task of creating human skills and availing educational and training institutions for generating, absorbing and adapting modern technologies has been a remarkable feature of the South Korean economy (Mkandawire 2014: 27). Consequently, as argued by Morris, "human capital formation accounts for the superior performance of East Asian economies when compared with other developing regions" (Morris 1996).

The above argument indicates how social policy can successfully be tasked in translating human capital into productive increase, an area where social policy has an important bearing. Thandika Mkandawire (2007) lament how seldom the link between social policy and human capital formation exemplified in countries of northern Europe and the developmental context of East Asia is emphasised with reference to developing countries. The WPRs literature, integrating both the productive and welfare functions of social policy (Iversen and Stephens 2008), highlight the inseparability and inextricable connectedness of economic and social policy. The 'capability and productivity-enhancing' approach to social policy is a stark

contrast to the residual anti-poverty approach exemplified in the neoliberal version of social policy. UNRISD research has highlighted that social policy in the Global South should go beyond poverty reduction. History is replete with evidence that social policy had other functions outside those emphasised by the current social protection paradigm (UNRISD 2006). This new evidence offers an argument for rethinking social policy outside its current neoliberal underpinnings, a challenge confronting social policy today, particularly in the context of developing countries (Yi 2015; UNRISD 2006).

Coming closer home, Mkandawire argues that in developing countries, particularly Africa, characterised by large rural populations dependent on agriculture it makes more sense for social policy to be targeted towards the rural sectors of the economy (2014:26). With poverty more prevalent in rural Africa than on any other continent and smallholder farmers accounting for 77 percent of the poor in sub-Saharan Africa (Rios, Shively & Masters 2009) raising productive capacities of the people should be the prime poverty reduction strategy (Adesina 2006, 2007, 2009). The experiences of Taiwan and South Korea indicates that land and agrarian reform policies, effective agricultural credit systems, investment in irrigation, expanded market for agricultural produce, effective system of agricultural extension, agricultural technology, mechanisation and formation of a variety of farmer associations, are crucial for enhancing the productive capacity of the rural cultivators (Kay 2002; Mkandawire 2014; Chung 2014). In measuring the enhancement of productive capacities within agrarian economies, these factors can be valuable proxy indicators at the individual, household, community and national levels. However, feminists caution that access to productive resources such as land, water, credit, training, fertilisers and markets is highly gendered with potential to exacerbate existing gender inequalities (Agrawal 1994, 2003).

Bearing in mind the multiplicity of policy instruments, despite the preponderance of welfare states on formal employment, within low-income agrarian societies social policies for enhancing productive capacities of members of society must focus on agricultural policies including land and agrarian reforms such as access to land, training, credit, irrigation, markets, inputs, machinery, research and technology among other support services. Many East Asian nations South Korea, China, Taiwan, and Japan, implemented land reforms and pro-agricultural policies, which created a base for industrial development (Mkandawire 2014: 26). The experience of South Korea illustrates that access to land has potential to contribute to human capital development as farmers spent their increased incomes on the education of

their children as opposed to previous exploitative and insecure tenant system (Chung 2014:112).

3.3.2 Redistributive Functions of Social Policy

Redistributive policies aim to share the gains of development and equalise individual opportunities and outcomes, wherefore land reform is one such instrument to achieve redistribution of wealth (Prasad, Hypher & Gerecke 2013). Redistributive social policies combat high levels of socio-economic inequality—an obstacle to poverty reduction—with the potential to trigger racial and ethnic conflict (UNRISD 2010: 5). To achieve growth with structural transformation of the economy (Adesina 2011: 465), there is a need for a fundamental shift from neoliberal economic and social policies (Mkandawire 2004: 19). Chung (2014:111) identifies functional equivalents to social policy that transformed social, economic and political relations within South Korean society. One such functional equivalent is the land reform which took place in the 1940s and '50s. Prior to the land reform, inequitable ownership, access and control over land constituted a critical barrier to poverty reduction accounting for the country's poor macroeconomic performance (Chung 2014:112). Experience of this South-East Asian country and "Taiwan, shows how land reform, resulting in more equitable land distribution, was fundamental for creating the basis for sustained economic growth" (Cotula *et al.* 2006: 8). As such, land reform is such a policy instrument for redistributing wealth, with a consequent shift of power relations Chung, 2014:112). This is not to elevate land reform as the only redistributive social policy instrument as there exists a wide array including pensions, family income transfers, medical social insurance tax rebates, among others.

3.3.3 Social Protection Functions

Social protection is "defined as the set of public measures that a society provides for its members to protect them against economic and social distress emanating from absence or a substantial reduction in income from work because of various contingencies" (Walker 2013: 127). The above formulation is premised on the existence of a labour market that can sufficiently generate income for most of the working population, enabling them to create sufficient surplus to save against these contingencies. Noteworthy, rather than social protection being required for a lifetime with inadequate income as the case in developing countries, within the context of welfare states it is just a response to short-term periods of

inadequate income (Walker 2013: 128). As such, the social protection instruments in the arsenal of industrialised nations may not be applicable in developing contexts where over 50 percent of the populations lives "in abject poverty, arguably the antithesis of social security" (ILO 2010a).

Within agrarian contexts, Moo-Kwon Chung argues, there is "need to re-define the concept of social policy to include those functional equivalents to the conventional social policy instruments" found in the context of welfare states (2014: 110). Chung's argument resonates with Mkandawire (2014:2 6) who argued that African economies are predominantly agrarian with an under-developed industrial sector. As such, it is imperative for the social policies to target the rural as opposed to the industrial sectors of the economy. Within such contexts, land and agrarian reforms have potential to act as proxy income maintenance protecting rural households from the vagaries of the market, including household food and nutrition insecurity (Mkandawire 2014; Dzanku 2015: 1139).

One shortfall of the current social policy models in the form of cash transfers and other mechanisms lies in their ex-post approach to socio-economic vulnerability meant "to assist individuals, households and communities to better manage risks" (Holzmann and Jørgensen 2000). With a focus on the vulnerable and protecting them against livelihood risks (Devereux & Sabates-Wheeler, 2004) the current social protection programmes are framed in terms of the poor and vulnerable thus reducing the social protection dimension to poverty alleviation. Social protection policies (as it is the whole of the welfare state) are not simply about the relief of poverty, in their encompassing and wider ex-ante prophylactic vision they are meant to protect citizens before falling into vulnerability (Myrdal and Myrdal 1932).

Dominant in developing countries is the perception that social protection pertains to the poor alone. With pervasive social and economic vulnerabilities created by Structural Adjustment Programmes, effective and durable social protection interventions must attend to the economic, socio-cultural and political structures of inequalities (Adesina 2011: 460). This includes attending to inequitable distribution of assets, including land. With food insecurity remaining an international priority concern, particularly so in sub-Saharan Africa, various policy mechanisms have been devised to address this welfare issue, including cash transfers (see Burchi, Scarlato & d'Agostino 2016). Recognising the acute problem of food insecurity, this study adopted it as a proxy for individual and household welfare inline with Pinstrup-Andersen (2009: 5). Such a conceptualisation has utility in the study context as Burchi *et al*

(2016) found food insecurity to be widespread in rural areas, characterised by extreme poverty. In the context of land reforms, Shumba (2011) had argued that that land ownership has long been established as an indispensable condition for the achievement of rights to subsistence and family welfare. From a gender perspective, the author found that access to land enabled women to provide enough for their households' food security, thus helping them to escape poverty (Shumba 2011: 237). Such an understanding informs the gender, land reform and welfare nexus this study endeavours to explore, even though many other protective social policy instruments exist with the potential to attend to gender inequality and welfare.

3.3.4 Social Reproduction Function

This study acknowledges the different usages of the term 'social reproduction' in the literature or the term 'reproduction' in general. As a departure point, it is useful to make reference to the work of Felicity Edholm, Olivia Harris and Kate Young (1977) who clarified the different levels at which the term 'reproduction' is applied (1977: 103). In their work, the authors make a distinction between social reproduction; reproduction of the labour force, and human reproduction. The latter refers to mainly the production of human labour, that is, birth and lactation while the reproduction of the labour force pertains to the maintenance of the working people or those who provide labour (1977: 106, 110). Social reproduction, a term conceptualised as one of the functions of social policy within the TSP, is conceptualised by the authors as referring to the "reproduction of the conditions of social production in its totality and not to the reproduction of only certain levels of the total social system (1977: 106).

In this study social reproduction is defined as the "daily reproduction of households through the acquisition and provision of basic needs as food, shelter, clothing, health and education among others" (Naidu and Ossome 2016: 52; Braunstein 2015). Broadly it would "include biological reproduction, everyday survival, accumulation of education and skills to participate in the capitalist economy" and inculcating the necessary value systems—referred to as 'labour-power' (Bhattacharya 2013; Ferguson and McNally 2015) or human capacities (Braunstein 2015). Hence, the production and reproduction of the working classes are conceptualised as a component of social reproduction. Tithi Bhattacharya asserted, "labour-power as a produced means of production" (Bhattacharya 2013:1; see also Mkandawire 2004:17; Braunstein 2015:3). As established in the feminist literature on the welfare state

discussed above, within a capitalist economy, social reproduction hinges on three institutions—households/families/communities, markets and the state (see Naidu and Ossome 2016:50; Braunstein 2015:1; Orloff 1993:312; O'Connor 2013). Thus, the socialisation of labour-power reveals the oppressive gendered relations mediating social reproduction within the family/household, a non-capitalist social formation, historically the largest sphere of social reproduction and remains so to date (O'Connor, 2013: 148; Naidu and Ossome 2016: 61; Braunstein 2015:3, 10).

Theorising the sites of that reproduction brings attention to households, families and communities, as key sites for social reproduction characterised by a set of gendered and sexualized social relations—a root cause of gendered poverty and inequality (UNRISD 2010; Razavi 2007, 2011; Folbre 1994, 2012). Within the regeneration, maintenance and reproduction of current and future classes of workers women's involvement in these processes, particularly their capacity to bear children, had resulted in disproportionate burden of social reproduction falling on their shoulders—a root cause of female oppression and gender inequities both in the formal and informal spheres (Bhattacharya 2013:1; Braunstein 2015:3). This sets the understanding upon which this thesis is premised. To operationalize the concept of social reproduction, the study adopts the Marxist feminists' social reproduction theory which "indicates that the production of goods and services and the production of labour-power are part of one integrated process as the 'labour-power' (people), used to produce the goods, are produced outside the ambit of the formal economy at very little cost to capital" (Bhattacharya 2013: 2). Within this conceptualisation Marxist feminists had highlighted the transformative yet incomplete insights of conventional Marxism in assuming 'labour-power' or capacity to labour as exogenously given products of natural, biologically determined and regenerative processes (Bhattacharya 2013; Folbre 1994; Braunstein *et al.* 2011). Yet, "labour force is reproduced both in the long run in terms of preparing the next generation to enter the labour force as well as in the short run as the daily care activities given to workers to enable them to resume their productive work" (Folbre 1994). Thus, there is need to problematise conventional research which tend to put these two into separate spheres, that is, the public/formal/paid and private/informal/unpaid—separating labour-power (workers) from the means of their subsistence or social reproduction (Fergusson and McNally 2015).

Social reproduction theory provides an analytical framework linking the two spheres, assisting in understanding capitalism as an integrated system where social reproduction in the

private sphere scaffold production in the public sphere. This approach transforms the understanding of labour-power not as naturally occurring but something that is made available to capital through its production in and "through a set of gendered and sexualized social relations that exist beyond the direct capital/labour relations" in the so-called private sphere (Fergusson and McNally 2015). As such, within the Transformative Social Policy framework, gender social policies are concerned with the "reconciliation of the burdens of social reproduction with that of other social tasks" to share this burden of responsibility for enhanced welfare outcomes of women in relation to men (Mkandawire 2011; Prasad *et al.* 2013). Departing from productivity and distributive gender parity analyses and adopting a social reproduction function devised by Braunstein (2015) this study sought to investigate gender equity in land and agrarian reforms through a social reproduction lens and the extent to which land reforms can enhance or impede the welfare of women in relation men.

3.3.5 Social Cohesion and Nation-building

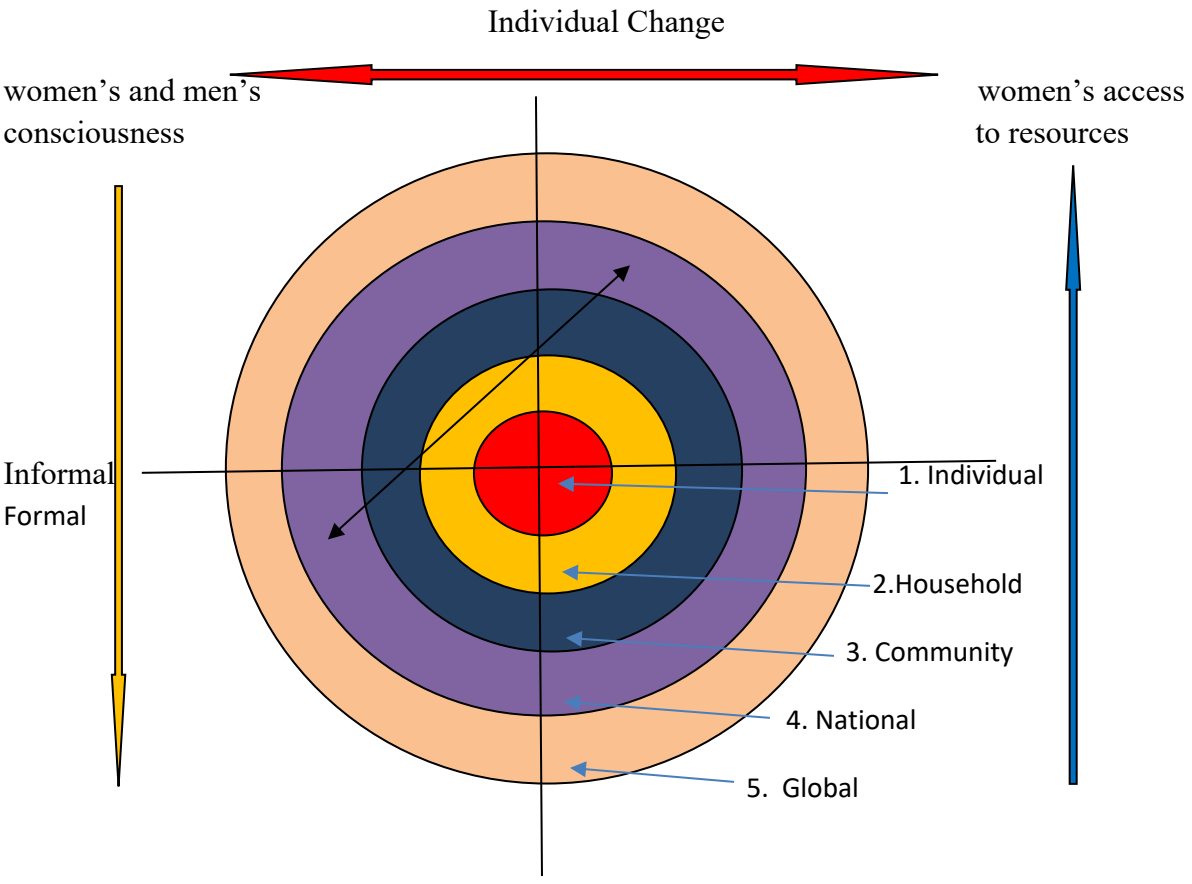
Social cohesion is a product of policies encouraging ideas of equality, reduced exclusion and a sense of belonging within societies (Jenson 2010). According to Adesina (2011), transformative social policy is a vision combining the agency of the less privileged and securing the consent of the privileged sections of society. Strong social cohesion and trust are underpinned by several policies for inclusion based on citizenship and solidarity (Prasad *et al.* 2013) though Adesina (2009: 38) seeks to transcend citizenship-based entitlement to include all *'those living in a given territory'*. Increases in poverty and inequality, especially racial inequality, may threaten social cohesion, thus undermining social, economic and political transformation (Prasad *et al.* 2013) as currently seen in South Africa. Addressing land access and tenure security through land reform "is crucial for social justice, political stability and peaceful co-existence" thus stabilising societies and contributing to social cohesion (Cotula *et al.* 2006: 6). Despite the multi-ethnic societies which may be created (Cheater 1982)—in a study of A1 farmers in Mazowe, Zimbabwe—Chiweshe (2014) concludes that despite bringing strangers into a single community, evident is the emergence of associational activities and farm level forms of organisation in fast track areas. The "small-scale farmers were found to be using social solidarity economy" as a source of social cohesion "to survive the various social, economic and political challenges they are facing" (Chiweshe 2014). This has created forms of bonding which are promoting togetherness for collective goals. These

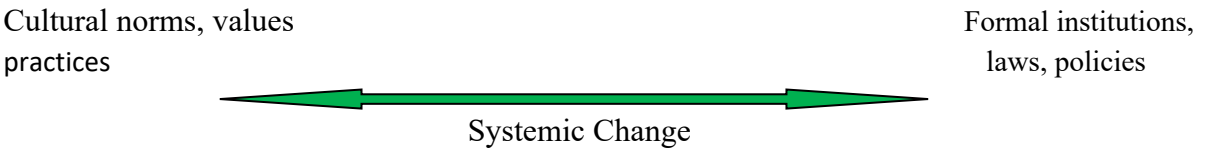
two important social policy function within the TSP were, however, not part of the research questions for this study. Consequently, there are not discussed further beyond this chapter.

3.3.6 Transforming Gender, Social Institutions and Norms

According to Figure 3.2 below, which present the role of policy in transforming gender, there is no one pathway through public policy towards gender equality. It is a complex process specific to given contexts. However, there are areas public policies should specifically and simultaneously target for gender transformative change. Public policies should aim for both individual and systemic changes in both formal and informal spheres. Apart from changes in formal institutions, laws and policies which enable women access to resources, in relation to men, must be targets for social policy. Key changes are also required in women's and men's consciousness and behaviours, informal cultural norms, exclusionary practices and institutions. On the other hand, changes in formal laws and policies alone are inadequate without concomitant implementation complemented by changes in attitudes and beliefs that reinforce gender inequality and harmful cultural norms. Thus, changes in one quadrant often are dependent on and require changes in the others to realise gender transformative change.

Fig 3.2 The Role of Policy in Transforming Gender





Adapted from Oxfam National Influencing Guidelines

3.3.6.1 Levels of Policy Change

As the feminist contribution to the study of welfare states has indicated, an understanding of gender ranges from states to identities, macro to micro-levels (Orloff 2009: 322), that is, intra-household, household, community, national to the global level. As highlighted by Thandika Mkandawire, "gender studies have provided another important micro-level for rethinking social policy in the context of development" (2004: 17). The public/private divide in which the latter is regarded as outside the state's regulatory and policing purview particularly at micro-level (intra-household) certain cultural norms, values and norms have been perpetuated with implications for the welfare of women relative to men (Orloff 2009: 322). Thus, micro-level gendered analyses of social policies are critical for gendered transformative changes and enhancement of women's welfare in relation to men.

3.3.6.2 Formal Institutions, Laws and Policies

Insights from the welfare states indicate that welfare provision (social policies) are structured and in turn, structure socio-political institutions and relations (Rose 1981). Formal institutional structures can give rise to or perpetuate gender inequality with economic dependence of women shoved up by the provisions and social policy ideologies. A gendered analysis focusing on the extent to which institutions may hinder or facilitate women's access to resources and attendant welfare outcomes is critical. As highlighted above, feminists have long questioned the assumption by both policymakers on the role of gender in distributive processes with the household/family is the basic unit of observation (Korpi 2000). The unitary model on which most social policies are based has been rejected by research despite remaining powerful in explaining many phenomena (Quismbing and Maluccio (2000:1). Gender dimensions of power and dependence in the family and how they affect the distribution of resources and their implications on the welfare of women in relation to men in different household setups" are not usually interrogated (Hobson 1990: 236). It has been argued that instead of viewing the household as "a unit of shared interest it may be more fruitful to view it as a bargaining unit where negotiations can cover a wide range of decisions

involving allocation of money, time, division of markets and work" (Quismbing and Maluccio 2000:7; Hobson 1990:237).

Another important insight coming from feminist contribution to the study of welfare states are assertions that gender-neutral policies benefit (all) women equally. Social policies should be "investigated in terms of the 'multiple differences' among women (and men) based on other dimensions of power, difference and inequalities like race, class including gender" (Orloff 2009: 323). This has potential to explicate the differential impact of policies on welfare between and within groups of women and men in society. This research endeavoured in this direction by differentiating not only women based on marital status but also zooming on the welfare situation of women in polygamous marriages.

3.3.6.3 Social and Cultural Norms, Values and Practices

Hillenbrand and Miruka (2019) using a social norms theory, explains the nexus between gender and social norms in agriculture and the need to incorporate social norms lens in policy analysis (2019: 12). The authors defined social norms as a category of collective beliefs referring to a social environment, specifically the expectations one has about a peer or reference group or an agreed-upon expectation and rules by which a given group guides the behaviour of its members in a particular situation (Hillenbrand and Miruka 2019: 12). The utility of a social norms perspective lies in its ability to shift the unit of analysis from an individual to examine the broader 'social way of doing things', that is, the relational social processes (Mackie *et al.* 2015). Informal institutions pose some of the major systemic challenges explaining the gap in women's economic achievement despite attention to gender, particularly in areas where gender legal reforms are at odds with strong social norms (Hillenbrand and Miruka 2019: 13). Within land reforms, social norms designing men as 'heads of households' privilege male control over productive resources thus enshrining practices of intra-household competition, inefficient allocation of resources and poor information sharing within the household (Smith *et al.* 2010 cited in Hillenbrand and Miruka 2019: 17). Harmful and restrictive gender, social and cultural norms, values and practices that restrict women' free choice and placing them in a position of subordination ought to be objects of social policy.

In newly independent states in Africa, the tendency has been giving legal backing to harmful gender, social and cultural practices in the name of claiming culture and history denigrated by

colonialism. Not many independent states were willing to adopt the stance taken by FRELIMO in Mozambique that just because a custom is African or traditional, it unquestionably enhances African life. Harmful and oppressive institutions and practices such as polygamy, lobola, hereditary marriages were disowned in Mozambique as they served to ensure the subordination of women and fostering inequality (Urdang 1989). It is in this area where the social policy offers a critical perspective on the evolutions (and contradictions) of social relations and institutions, especially gender in the African context, with welfare implications for women in relation to men. As observed in the context of welfare states, deep-seated gender norms are reflected in the design and formal enforcement of formal policies. Such gender norms are embedded within the mentalities, mindsets and habits of (state) actors at multiple institutional levels (Hillenbrand and Miruka 2019: 17).

3.3.6.4 Women's and Men's Consciousness

Hillenbrand and Miruka (2019: 13) observed that gender norms internalised in women and men's consciousness limit individual's self-confidence and self-efficacy constraining their agency regardless of their skills or potential. Having changes in laws and policies without their implementation would not bring any gender transformation and improvement in the situation of women in relation to men. This relates to de facto and de jure rights where a state of affair is true, but not officially sanctioned, or the true state of affairs is not sanctioned officially. It is crucial to assess women and men's knowledge of existing laws which can enhance their conditions and the extent to which they are putting into practice the laws and regulations including those relating to women's land rights. These as well should be targets of social policies as shifting gender norms have liberating outcomes for women.

3.4 Justification of the Transformative Social Policy Approach

The transformative social policy approach is justified on many fronts. Foremost, its universalist approach entails that it can be extended to all persons defined as citizens and in its more encompassing approach, to all residing in a given territory (Adesina 2009; Koehler 2017). This is more applicable to other social policy areas including health, education and social assistance, among others, not necessarily to land which is not infinite. Secondly, transformative social policies address the root causes of inequalities and social injustices, nowhere is this more applicable than issues of land in former settler economies. Thus, it attends to transformation in the economy, in the policy and social spheres of life for equal

participation of all social groups in society. The approach represents a 'social policy turn' to emphasise social objectives, including gender inequality (UNRISD 2016). Its diversity of instruments from education, health, housing, labour market reforms, family and child policies, pensions, fiscal policies, land and agrarian reform makes it germane to contexts outside the OECD, particularly development context like Africa. This is in addition to its utility in multi-tasking social policy: the productive, redistributive, the social protection, social reproduction, nation-building and social cohesion (Adesina 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2015; Mkandawire 2001, 2004, 2007, 2011; Yi 2015; UNRISD 2006; 2016) rather than the current mono-tasking of social policy in the current social protection paradigm (Adesina 2010). From a gender perspective, TSP attends to social relations and social institutions from the household, community to societal level (Koehler 2017). In this study, the transformative social policy is employed as a conceptual-cum-analytical framework to assess the effectiveness of land and agrarian reform in securing welfare at individual and household level including transformation of social relations and institutions along its four dimensions of production, redistribution, social protection and social reproduction. The latter brings gender more into focus in evaluating distribution of welfare across different social groups.

3.5 Conclusion

Transforming and intervening into the economy to secure the welfare of the majority citizens through various social policy instruments, either successfully or unsuccessfully, has been a marker of Zimbabwean social policy since the dawn of independence. While a gender focus was missing in the country's social and economic policies, a review of feminist literature on the study of comparative welfare state does provide critical insights and tools in the study gender and welfare in the context of land reforms. Within the framework outlined above, subsequent chapters discuss land reform as a social policy instrument for enhancing productive capacities, transforming social institutions and relations including gender, protection of households against vulnerability, and social reproduction. Before that, the next chapter expounds the methodological approach adopted in this research study.

Chapter Four

Research Methodology

4.0 Introduction

This Chapter is concerned with the methodological underpinnings of this study. It starts by providing an overview of ontological and epistemological orientations in social science research, including recent perspectives such as feminist perspectives, and then proceeds to outline the ontological and epistemological standpoint informing the study. Thereafter, the chapter discusses the research design that informed the study. This is subsequently followed by a discussion on sampling, data collection, data analysis, interpretation and write-up processes. Further, the chapter provides background information on the research site and research participants. The chapter closes outlining issues of the positionality of the researcher and reflexivity in addition to how validity, reliability and ethical issues were addressed in the research project.

4.1 Ontological and Epistemological Standpoints in Social Science Research

In social science research, ontological questions ask what constitute reality and how we can understand the nature of existence, it is concerned with 'the study of being' and the structure of reality (Crotty 2003:10). Question responding to "what is there that can be known, the nature of reality or the 'knowable" speak to the ontological assumptions of a given research study (Guba and Lincoln 1989:83; Guba 1990). Worldviews, paradigms, ontologies or beliefs are just synonyms referring to the "general philosophical orientations about the world and nature of reality" researchers bring to the study (Creswell 2014); they "are theories on the nature of being and existence" (Hesse-Biber 2010:125). Bryman (2004) identifies two ontological positions concerning social science research that is objectivism/positivism and constructivism/subjectivism. These distinctions are important in view of the feminist approach adopted for this study.

4.1.1 Objectivist and Subjectivist Ontology

Objectivism is a philosophical perspective based on a realist ontological position which asserts an existent reality governed by immutable natural laws, a reality that can be known through investigation (Dieronitou 2014:5). According to Bryman, objectivism entails that

social reality is external and exist in isolation independent of the researcher; thus, it can objectively be studied. Its nature of knowledge is based on universal principles and observable facts (Raddon undated), and there is one reality. On the polar extreme of objectivist ontology lies subjective ontology which argues that social entities or reality "can and should be considered social constructions built upon the perceptions and actions of social actors" (Bryman 2004) and the existence of multiple rather than one reality (Dieronitou 2014:7). There are fewer disagreements between social and behavioural scientists on the ontological dimension of research paradigms, as research projects, according to them, cannot share 'thinking' at this level. It has to be either objectivist or subjectivist (Creamer 2018: 43). However, an overarching subjectivist ontology which this study adopts does not foreclose the use of a mixed-methods approach at the methodological level, that is, strategies of generating and justifying empirical knowledge (Creamer 2018: 41). While this study sought to capture the perceptions, experiences of women as actors cognition was taken regarding the positioning of the researcher vis-à-vis the research participants who happened to be predominantly women.

4.1.2 Epistemological Standpoints

While ontology refers to the nature of knowledge and reality, according to Crotty "epistemology is a way of understanding and explaining how we know what we know" (2003:3). Epistemological questions ask what constitutes valid knowledge and how we can obtain it. As such James Shaver conceptualises epistemology as knowledge building (1992:1,4). "A researcher's epistemology encompasses his/her standpoint on the nature of knowledge and learning" (Hesse-Biber 2010:125; Shaver 1992:4). Drawing from the above ontological positions, two epistemological standpoints can be identified, namely, positivist epistemological stance for the objectivist ontologies and constructivist epistemologies for subjectivist ontologies (Shaver 1992)

4.1.2.1 Positivist Epistemology

A positivist epistemology or knowledge building is a philosophical perspective based on realist ontology characterised by a quest for knowledge through deductive, a priori hypothesis or theory-testing approach in which research becomes objective, measurable, predictable and controllable (Guba 1990). It assumes the natural science as a model for social science research hence the emphasis on measurements, direct observations, correlations, statistical

logic and verification (Dieronitou 2014:5; Raddon undated). In this model of knowledge building, the researcher maintains a complete detachment from the phenomenon under study with a knower-known/subject-object relationship based on a firm conviction of the researcher's ability to control their own value and perceptual biases in coming to understand reality (Smith 1983). From a methodological point of view, positivist epistemology is inclined to the side of experimentation thus confined to the use of empirical tests and carefully controlled conditions hence the use of surveys questionnaire and random sampling, typical examples of quantitative methods (Smith 1983; Dieronitou 2014; Raddon undated). Positivism as knowledge building has been criticized by many social critics as inadequate in social science for its heavy reliance on natural sciences model to the disregard of researcher and participants' values, informed opinion, moral judgements and beliefs (Kvernbekk 2002 cited in Dieronitou 2014: 5).

4.1.2.2 Constructivist Epistemologies

On the opposite side is constructivism which arose from the critique of using natural sciences as a model of social science research and rejecting both the ontological and the epistemological positions of the positivists argues that there are multiple realities constructed by social actors (Guba, 1990; Guba and Lincoln 1989). Ontologically, it assumes that reality does not exist independently of the mental constructions of individuals but "that all knowledge and therefore all meaningful reality is contingent upon human practices and constructed in and out of the interaction between human being, and their world or meaning is not discovered but constructed" (Crotty 2003:43). It is based on the epistemological assumption that the enquirer and that which is inquired are inseparable giving credence to the time, cultural, and historical specificities of social science research and its non-generalizability (Smith 1983). In contrast to the value-free or value-neutrality in the research of the positivist school of thought, constructivism adopts a "subject-subject posture value-bound research where facts and values are inextricably linked" (Dieronitou 2014:7). Methodologically, constructivism "proceeds hermeneutically by depicting individual constructions as accurately as possible to compare it dialectically with the aim of reaching and generating a substantial consensus." This has a bearing on the dominant approaches and methods such as ethnographic studies, in-depth interviews and other similar analytical approaches (Raddon undated; Dieronitou 2014).

As argued so far, taking an extreme subscription either/or—objectivism/subjectivism ontology, positivist/constructivist epistemology—there emerges a pure adherence to quantitative or qualitative research methodologies respectively thus highlighting the incompatibility thesis put forward by quantitative and qualitative purists (Dieronitou 2104:5). Despite these ontological and epistemological distinctions, methodological triangulation within a single overarching paradigm framework (Denzin 1988)—an approach widely accepted in the field of mixed methods research—allows the combined use of qualitative and quantitative approaches in a single study (Mayoh and Onwuegbuzie 2015: 95). In the field of mixed methods, research paradigms or philosophical standpoints are not deterministic to any particular research method (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie 2004). Consequently, this study's research design involved an iterative use and interface of quantitative and qualitative methods while taking cognisance of the inherent power relations involved between the 'inquirer' and the 'inquired' in the social construction of knowledge. These power relations became particularly important in the data gathering processes involving field interaction between the researcher and the research participants.

4.1.3 Feminist Epistemologies and Subjugated Knowledges

New theoretical contributions, particularly the pioneering work of feminists, ushered in a scope of novel research questions exposing subjugated knowledges of subordinated groups seldom considered in traditional knowledge building. Their fundamental argument was that women were 'left out' of existing knowledges and that their issues, needs, and concerns needed to be included in research endeavours (Hesse-Biber 2010: 2, 129). Positivists were criticized for their objectivity, universality and value-free detached stance in research (Sprague and Zimmermann 2004). Feminists contend the taken for granted subject-object, the knower-knowable dichotomy and its associated biases in positivism as paralleling reproduction of unequal patriarchal power relations involved in knowledge production (Clough 1998: 12). On the other hand, despite the assumption that reality is a social construct whose meaning is derived from the perspective of the individual's experience, the constructivist/interpretive epistemologies have been challenged by feminist perspectives for not necessarily being critical of social structures that social actors inhibit and the lack of social transformation/change in its approach to research (Hesse-Biber 2010:125). These insights from feminist writers were valuable, particularly for this research, not only for its

feminist approach but also a male researcher from a different social class interacting with female rural farmers.

4.1.3.1 Contributions of Feminist Approaches to Knowledge and Societal Change

Drawing from the above assertion, feminist researchers had asked new research questions about "social justice, social transformation/change and the intersections of race, class, ethnicity, nationality and other forms of unequal social relations including gender" (Hesse-Biber 2010: 2). A good case in point relates to feminist standpoint theory, an approach that elevates women's concerns, voices and knowledge in academic inquiry and practice. Importantly and unlike positivism, feminist research has advocated for the practice of reflexivity and positionality, bringing attention to the researcher/researched unequal power relations (Murchison 2010). As such, feminist epistemologies have placed emphasis on knowledges that traditional research approaches have marginalised, particularly gender as an analytical category equally important as race and class, among others (Sen 1987: 2). Consequently, they have applied their research findings in the service of public policy, bringing women's issues into the academic and public arena. This had spawned social policy initiatives and change through their publication, thus acting as a strategy to advance issues of gender inequality (Hesse-Biber 2010: 145).

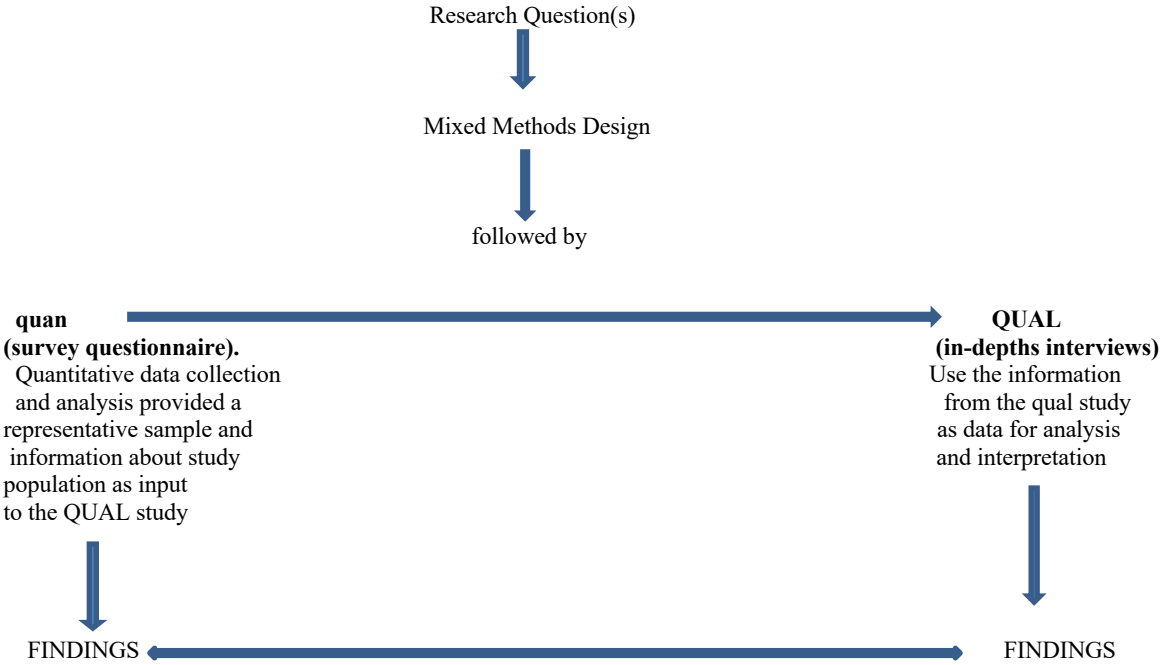
4.2 The Research Study's Ontological and Epistemological Standpoint

Flowing from the study's research problem and the preceding discussion, this research adopts a relativist ontology guided by an interpretive feminist epistemology to probe issues of difference, power and inequality between women and men. In particular a feminist standpoint theory, a theoretical perspective placing women's concerns and knowledge at the forefront of academic inquiry giving voice to women's experiences is the specific feminist perspective informing the study (Murchison 2010). Using a feminist stand point theory within an interpretive feminist approach, the study poses gender as a relational question and the extent to which social policy can affect social relations and institutions around the issues of gender equality in welfare. The utility of an interpretive feminist approach adopted in this study enabled the exploration and capture of women's lived experiences, concerns, and meanings. While the study adopted this approach issues of reflexivity, positionality and ethics in the research were accorded the highest premium in this study by virtue of the sex differences in the actors that were involved in the construction of knowledge.

4.3 Qualitative Approaches to Mixed Methods Research

Qualitative approaches to research are premised on the understanding that reality is a social construct with individuals perceived as "meaning-makers of the world they reside" and that the subjective meaning of lived reality is a critical component of knowledge building (Hesse-Biber 2010: 63). As one of the many approaches to mixed methods research, despite the combination of both qualitative and quantitative methods, in this research study, the latter is purposefully made to play an auxiliary role in the research design (Howe 2004: 54). This is in line with the research problem at hand. The adopted research design assisted in explicating complex questions relating to the intersection of gender and other forms of inequality, which dominant perspectives on knowledge building often miss (Hesse-Biber and Crofts 2008). This assisted in problematizing, advancing and understanding social change around issues of gender inequality. According to Hesse-Biber, this is critical as it promotes "listening between researchers and the researched to get a 'deeper more genuine expression of beliefs and values fostering a more accurate description of views held and gathering more complex understanding of social life" (Hesse-Biber 2010: 64). Among the different qualitative mixed methods designs, this study adopted a sequential explanatory mixed-method design; see Figure 4.1 below for the reasons to be elaborated. The design guided research activities from data collection through sampling to analysis, interpretation and write-up as shall be discussed.

Fig. 4.1 The Sequential Explanatory Mixed Methods Design



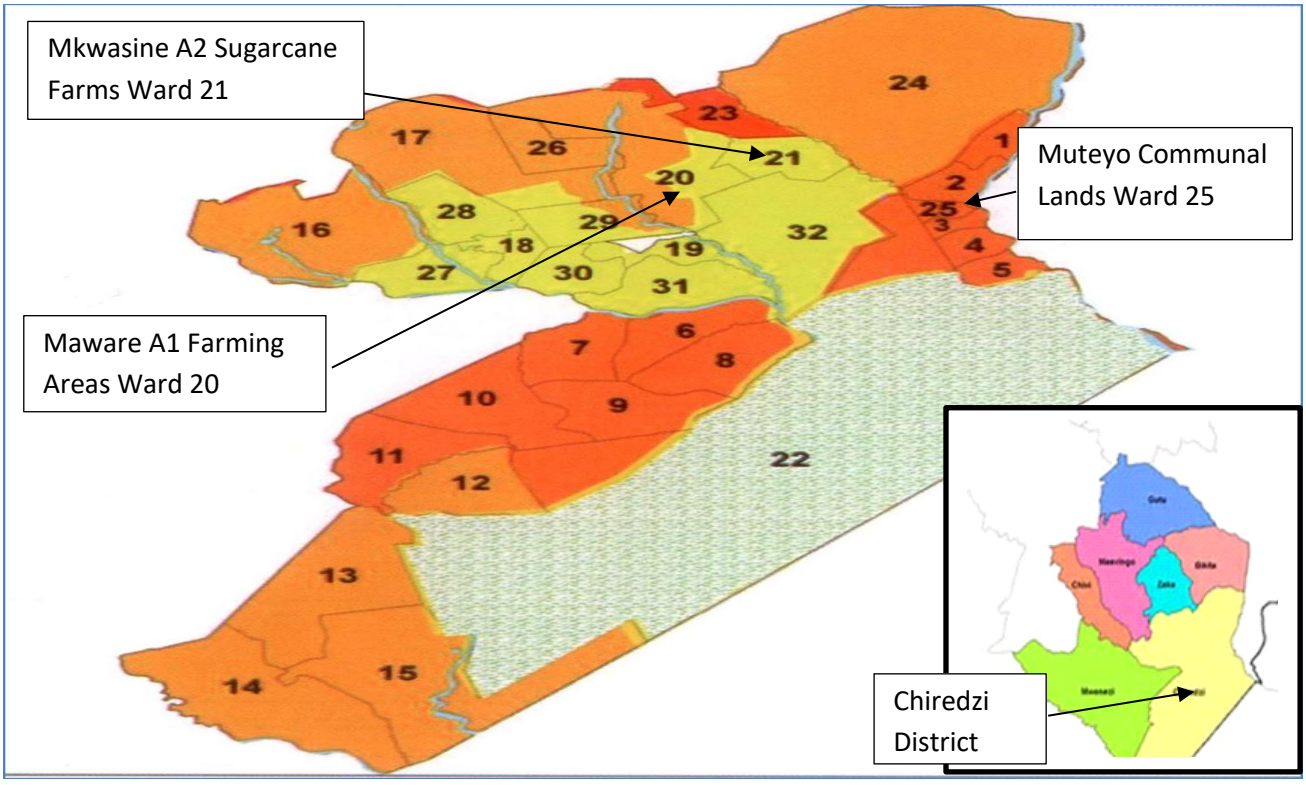
Adapted from Hesse-Biber (2010:106)

According to the design, the quantitative component of the study was conducted first and subsequently, the qualitative component. I shall return to these issues subsequently. Ensuing below is a brief section providing background to the research site—important in understanding how the study design was operationalized in the field.

4.4 Background to the Study Sites and Chiredzi District

Chiredzi District falls under Natural Region Five characterised by poor annual precipitation of between 400-500 mm; prolonged and severe dry spells during the cropping season; summer temperatures reaching 50 degrees Celsius and high mean annual evaporation exceeding 180mm (Hill and Katerere 2002: 256). These conditions make crop cultivation without irrigation virtually impractical. Figure 4.2 below shows the map of Chiredzi District.

Figure 4.2 Chiredzi District (Map of Zimbabwe Insert) and Study Sites



Source: Chiredzi District Agriculture and Extension Office.

Irrigation schemes have been established along the major rivers draining through the district such as Save, Runde, Mutirikwi, and Chiredzi rivers. Consequently, the district has the largest number of hectares under irrigation in Masvingo Province with a total of 14 irrigation schemes covering over 1000 ha. (Key Informant Interview District Agricultural Officer

Chiredzi Date 28 October 2016). These climatic conditions coupled with large areas of the district are covered by vertisols, soils well suited for irrigation (Oxfam-UNDP/GEF 2015) explains some important peculiarities of the study site distinguishing it from other land reform districts in Zimbabwe. Distinct and dominant land uses in the District comprises, the Gonarezhou National Park, sugarcane plantations, communal areas and large tracts of land under wildlife farming as shown below. The latter include Save Valley Conservancy, Chiredzi River Ranch Conservancy and portions of the extensive Bubiyana Conservancy. Below is a brief discussion of the land use features marking the district and study sites, as shown in the map above.

4.4.1 The Gonarezhou National Park

Created in 1972, Gonerezhou National Park borders Mozambique, and South Africa protects 5,053 square kilometres making it the second-largest national park in Zimbabwe (Figure 4.2 above). Now, it is part of the Greater Limpopo Trans-Frontier Park encompassing Kruger and Limpopo National Park in South Africa and Mozambique, respectively. The setting up of national parks during colonial times involved forced removal of resident indigenous communities. These forced removals had caused widespread poverty resulting in longstanding hatred and parks-people land conflicts (Bel and Mombeshora 2009). The onset of the FTLRP in the district reflected an "interplay between history of displacement and dispossession, demographic pressures, limited economic opportunities," and land occupations (Mombeshora and Bel 2009). During the 'fast track' period, the Chitsa/Ndali people invaded about a third of Gonarezhou claiming it was their ancestral lands taken from them in the 1960s (Mombeshora and Bel 2009). Following the occupations and in accord with the Government's stipulations on National Parks and Gazetted Forests that such areas should be exempted from acquisition and resettlement, the "700 families from Chitsa Communal lands who have settled in the Gonarezhou Game Park had to be relocated elsewhere" (Utete 2003). A cabinet decision was passed to resettle Chitsa people elsewhere but out of the park (Marongwe 2004), but the broader historical parks-people land conflict remains unresolved. Despite being out of purview for this study, the issue represents an unexplored research area in relation to the FTLRP.

4.4.2 Conservancies

Large wildlife areas (conservancies) have been established in the 1990s on parts of Chiredzi with no access to irrigation where crop cultivation was practically impossible (Moyo 2000:141). Prior to the FTLRP, the low-veld was home to lucrative Save Valley and Chiredzi River conservancies with booming but highly elite hunting and private tourist industry (Scoones 2012). Save Valley Conservancy alone is over 340 000 hectares and borders with communities in Bikita and Chipinge District of Manicaland. From 2000 until now, these areas have become sites of on-going contestation over the control of natural resources between private players, local elites, government and the local communities (Scoones 2012). During the FTLRP sections of Save Valley Conservancy were occupied with government resolving to regularise the stay of occupiers (The Herald 8 September 2016). In addition to conservancies, Chiredzi is Zimbabwe's sugarcane growing district, an economic activity not only integral to the local but also the national economy.

4.4.3 The Three Sugar Plantations of Zimbabwe

The creation of the sugar plantations in Chiredzi dates back to early settler-occupation in the 1890s. Over the time, three sugar plantations were established namely Hippo Valley, Triangle and Mkwasine whose ownership had passed over several hands to the present. Currently, Tongaat Hulett's Group is the sole owner of Triangle sugar operation and has 50.3 percent stake in Hippo Valley sugar estates. Before the 'fast track,' these two estates owned Mkwasine Sugar Estate on a 50/50 share basis (Chidoko & Chimwai 2011).

4.4.3.1 Triangle Sugar

Triangle is "an agro-based sugar company situated in the south-east low-veld of Zimbabwe, 445 km south-east of the capital city of Harare, wholly owned by the Tongaat Hulletts Group. Murray MacDougall, assisted by Tom Dunuza, founded the company in 1919 to ranch cattle but a severe downturn in the economy during the post-World War 1 recession led Triangle into crop production in the late 1920s. The main crop cultivated was wheat. Triangle started growing sugar cane in 1934 with only 18 hectares under irrigation. This is a far cry from the current 13 927 hectares under sugar production. The Triangle operation is the biggest sugar operation in Zimbabwe. It has a crushing capacity of around 2.5m tonnes of cane producing up to 320,000 tonnes of raw sugar per year of which 90,000 tonnes is refined. In addition, an

alcohol plant attached to the sugar factory produces up to 25 million litres of industrial-grade rectified spirit annually from molasses, for sale predominantly to European markets. A livestock unit is also part of the company's operations, with up to 9,600 head of cattle being ranched on the Triangle estates (www.huletts.co.za). In addition, Triangle is a major earner of foreign exchange for Zimbabwe through the export of sugar and alcohol products. During the FTLRP, Triangle estate retained much of its land. As part of the company's Socio-Economic Development Programme and contribution towards the indigenisation of the economy, it is settling new cane growers on company-owned land and continue providing support to emergent sugar cane farmers" (www.huletts.co.za).

4.4.3.2 Hippo Valley Estate

This estate is the second sugar operation in size, accounting for half of the national sugar production and covering 124 km^2 and employing up to 8,000 workers (Scoones *et al.* 2016: 5). About 50.35 percent stake of Hippo Valley Estates is owned by Triangle. Prior to the FTLRP, all out-growers at Hippo Valley were white or Mauritian with relatively large plots of between 100-200 ha (Scoones *et al.* 2016: 5). The out-grower section covering 16,000 ha was acquired by the government, sub-divided into 800 sugarcane plots and allocated to indigenous A2 sugarcane land reform beneficiaries while the core estate retained its 30,000 ha (Scoones, Mavedzenge & Murimbarimba 2016).

4.4.3.3 Mkwasine Estate-cum A2 and the A1 and Communal Study Sites

Prior to the 'fast track,' a consortium of Triangle and Hippo Valley Estates owned the Mkwasine Estate. During the FTLRP the government acquired Mkwasine estates in its entirety to resettle indigenous sugar cane farmers—a milestone development that resulted in the creation of one of the largest blocks of resettled sugar cane farmers in the south-eastern low-veld (Scoones *et al.* 2016). Mkwasine Estate, ward 21 represented the A2 study site consisting of small-scale FTLRP sugarcane growers on average plots of 20 ha in size.These are in addition to the already existing 120 indigenous planters settled on 10 ha plots established in 1981/82 under the Chipiwa Old Settlement Scheme (Wilson, Welman and Ellis 1986). Empirical findings from this study indicate that a total of 431 plots were distributed with 24.4 per cent distributed to female land beneficiaries. Unlike, in other parts of the district characterised largely by land occupations, the settlement on the sugar plantations was formal, contrary to commonly held assumptions. The process involved potential beneficiaries

submitting a plan, evidence of farming commitment, qualifications and level of investment capital. Those who met the criteria acquired plots through the process. There were also others with strong security service and party connections including war veterans (though a small minority) who could jump the queue and got themselves allocated sugar plantation plots (Scoones *et al.* 2016). Maware, Ward 20 located in the central northern side of the district represented the small-scale A1 study site. Formally it was an uninhabited game reserve through which the 40-km Manjirenji-Mkwwasine runs through. Muteyo communal lands located to the eastern side of the district representing the control group is one of the 17 communal wards in Chiredzi district. It borders Chipinge district of Manicaland province. The next section provides an overview of the demographic characteristics of the research participants.

4.5 Demographic Characteristics of Research Participants

Table 4.1 below provides summarised statistics of the research participants showing the distribution of research participants in the quantitative study by gender of the household head indicate that female-headed households (FHHs) constituted 46.7 percent of the participating households relative to 53.3 percent for male-headed households (MHHs). While this was not pursed in the study beacuase of the minute numbers, within FHHs only 3 (three) were de facto FHHs, one within the A2 sample and two in the A1 sample. The rest were de jure FHHs. In the qualitative component of the study, to give greater weight to land reform perspectives, voices and experiences of women in FHHs, two-thirds of the research participants were deliberately drawn from this sub-category in line with feminist research. The remaining 10 (ten) female in-depth participants were drawn from MHHs. The quantitative survey questionnaire sought to find an equal representation of both female and male-headed households in the study sample. The observed difference was a result of attrition during data cleaning, as explained below. As shown in Table 4.1 below, most land beneficiaries are middle-aged with a mean age of 48.8 and 48.1 for A2 and A1 farming areas respectively slightly lower to that found in the communal areas with an average age of 53.3 years. The study areas are characterised by relatively large family sizes with a mean family size above seven members relative to the national average household size pegged at 4.2 members (ZimStat 2016: ix). The A1 areas have the highest at 9.39 and a maximum size of 42 members, a phenomenon attributable to polygyny. In the A2 farming areas, the average family size stood at 7.09 while that of the communal areas was at 7.78 members reflecting the

demand for family labour on the farms. In terms of education, over 50 percent of respondents have primary education as their highest attainment; a few have college and university education, particularly in the A2 farming areas. In terms of employment status, over 95 percent of the plot holders are engage in farming as their main economic activity in the A1 and communal areas with 28.1 percent of A2 plot holders combining salaried formal employment and farming enterprise.

At present current research on gender and the fast track land reform in Zimbabwe has been criticized for homogenising all groups' women (Bhatasara and Chiweshe 2017: 158; Mazhawidza and Manjengwa 2011: 7; Mutopo 2011: 199). This research sought to overcome this shortfall by deliberately seeking to capture the experiences of distinct categories of women differentiated by marital status.

Table 4.1 Summarised Demographic Characteristics of Research Participants

Study Areas	Ages of Household Heads				Household Family Sizes			
	Mean	Maximum	Minimum,	Std Deviat'	Mean	Maximum	Minimum	Std Deviation
Mkwasine A2 Farms	48.8	62	34	7.71	7.09	13	4	2.49
Maware A1 Farms	48.1	65	25	9.67	9.39	42	4	8.96
Muteyo Communal Lands	53.3	82	35	10.77	7.78	14	3	2.69

Educational level of Plot Holder	No formal Education		Some Primary Education		Completed Primary Education		Some Secondary Education		Completed Secondary Education		College Education		University Degree		Totals	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Mkwasine A2 Farm Areas	3	9.4	3	9.4	2	6.3	7	21.9	10	31.3	3	9.4	4	12.5	32	100
Maware A1 Farming Areas	2	6.1	8	24.2	11	33.3	7	21.2	4	12.1	1	3.0	0	0.0	33	100
Muteyo Communal Lands	9	22.5	10	25.0	11	27.5	5	12.5	5	12.5	0	0.0	0	0.0	40	100
Summary (all study areas)	14	13.3	21	20.0	24	22.9	19	18.1	19	18.1	4	3.8	4	3.8	105	100

Marital Status of Research Participants	Monogamous Marriage		Polygamous Marriage		Divorced/Single		Widowed		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
	34	32.4	21	20.0	7	6.7	43	41.0	105	100

Households' Distribution by Gender of H/Head	Male		Female		Total	
	56	53.3%	49	46.7%	105	100

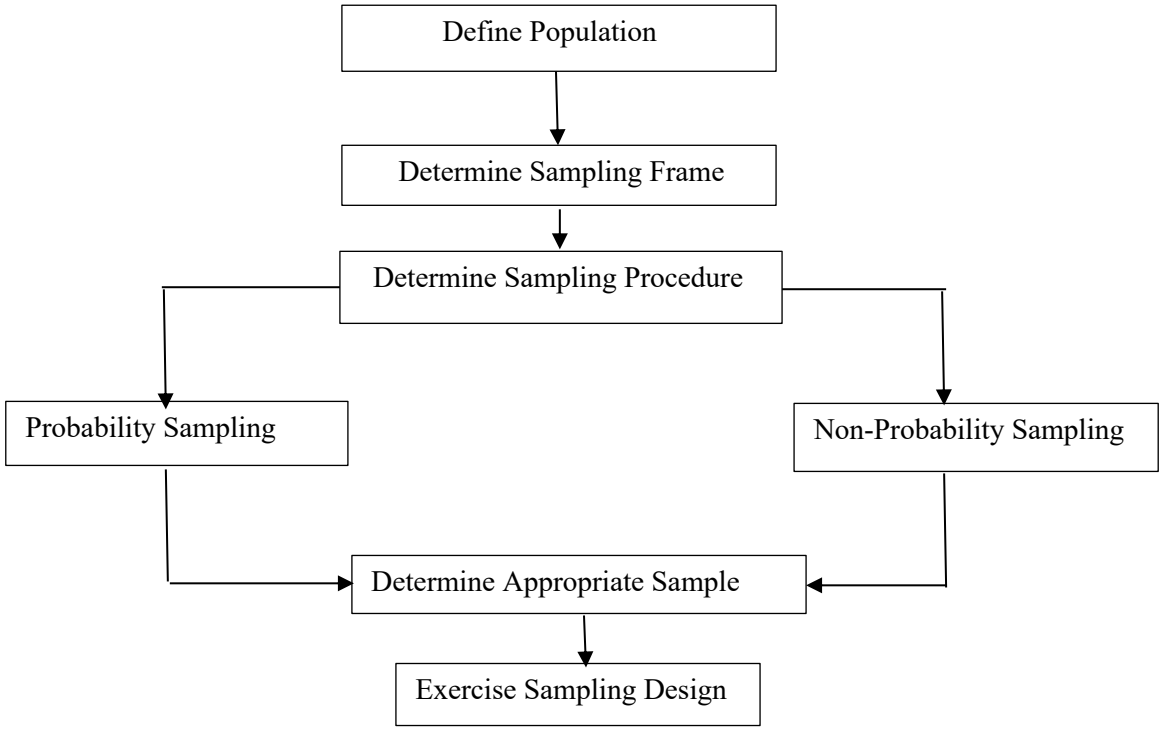
Employment Status of Plot Holders	Mkwasine A2 Sugarcane Farm'g Areas						Maware A1 Farming Areas						Muteyo Communal Areas					
	Male		Female		Total		Male		Female		Total		Male		Female		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Professionally Employed	4	12.5	5	15.6	9	28.1	0	0.0	1	3.0	1	3.0	0	0.0	1	2.5	1	2.5
Not Professionally Employed	8	25.0	15	46.9	23	71.9	15	45.5	17	51.5	32	97.0	18	45.0	21	52.5	39	97.5

In doing this, rather than just categorising them under the married/not married dichotomy, the study went beyond such binary grouping to document the needs, concerns, perceptions and experiences of women within monogamous and polygamous situations; the divorced/separated/single and the widowed. In Table 4.1 above, married women constitute 52.3 percent of research participants with 38.2 percent within this category located in polygamous marriage reflecting a high prevalence of polygyny as observed in other studies (see Goebel 2005: 80; Chenaux-Repond 1993; Jacobs 1983: 42). In total polygamous marriages constituted 20.0 percent of participating households. Important is not to conflate marital status with household headship as female landholding was found within the male category (see Section 6.3). Widows constituted 41.0 percent, while single/divorced women comprised 6.7 percent of the research participants. The next section discusses procedures used in the selection of these research participants.

4.6 Sampling Design Process

Figure 4.3 below present the sampling design—a process that involve defining the population, sampling frame, sampling procedure (either probability or non-probability), determining the sample size and overall implementation of the sampling design.

Figure 4.3 The Sampling Design Framework



Adapted from (www.classes.uleth.ca).

An embedded case study design adopted in the study proved suitable for exploring the lived experience of women within its real-world context (Edmonds and Kennedy 2017: 190). The next section outlines how this embedded case study design was put into practice in the field.

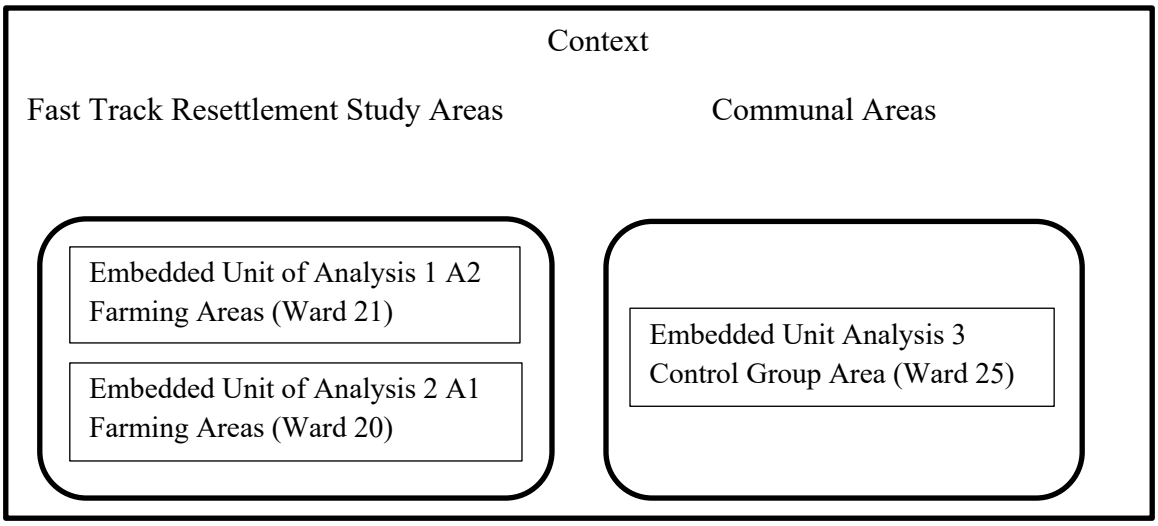
4.6.1 Sampling in Case Studies and Identification of the Study Population

Case study sample designs are structured around contexts as opposed to individual research participants (Lewis 2003). Zimbabwe has 58 rural districts and Chiredzi District (the population, Figure 4.2 and the context, Figure 4.4) is one of the six districts including Goromonzi, Zvimba, Kwekwe, Mangwe and Chipinge which the Sam Moyo Institute of Agrarian Studies (SMAIAS), a collaborator institution, had been conducting longitudinal surveys since the onset of the FTLRP. On the other hand, much research on the FTLRP including that with a gender perspective (Manjengwa and Mazhawidza 2011; Chiweshe 2014, 2015a, 2015b; Chiweshe, Chakona and Hellicker 2014; Chingarande 2008; Matondi 2012; Mutopo, Chiweshe 2014; Mutopo, Manjengwa and Chiweshe 2014) have been conducted in high productive Mashonaland provinces characterised by good rainfall. This is in exception of Mutopo (2011) who used a case study of Mwenezi one of the six districts of Masvingo Province. Moreover, Chiredzi as a district has its own distinct peculiarities as the sole sugarcane production area of the country. This provides a unique case for exploring the gendered welfare outcomes of the FTLRP, an area yet to be documented in detail.

4.6.2 The Study Population and Sampling Frame

As shown on the map Figure 4.2 above, Chiredzi District (the context) can be broadly categorised into communal, resettled, large-scale plantation and conservancy areas. The district has a total of 32 wards comprising 5 medium-scale A2 sugarcane-producing wards, ten small-scale A1 wards and 17 communal wards (see Figure 4.2 above). Within the case study sampling design, with embedded sub-categories, three wards were purposively selected with the help of the District Agritex Officer viz. Ward 21 Mkwasine A2 sugarcane farming area, Ward 20 Maware A1 farming area and Ward 25 Muteyo communal area which acted as a control group. This is presented diagrammatically form in Figure 4.4 below. Ward 21 was selected, as it constitutes the former Mkwasine sugar plantation wholly acquired by the government during the FTLRP and distributed to small-scale growers on average plots of 20 ha in size.

Figure 4.4 Study Sites within an Embedded Case Study Design



Out of the 10 (ten) A1 wards in Chiredzi 4 (four) of these wards A1 wards have access to irrigation, that is, Ward 28, 29,20 and 18 (Key Informant Interviews Chiredzi District Agricultural Officer 28/10/16). Out of these 4 wards, Ward 20 was selected to represent the A1 land beneficiaries due to their access to irrigation engendered by the water reforms that came in the wake of the FTLRP in the 2000s. This is particularly important considering the district's agro-ecological conditions described above. Ward 25 was selected as the control for its accessibility and proximity as other communal areas were inaccessible due to the flooding of Runde, one of the main rivers draining the district when the research was conducted. These wards constitute the three study sites, as shown in Figure 4.2 above. The Ward Agriculture and Technical Extension (Agritex) register listing all land reform beneficiaries or plot holders in the ward constituted the sampling frame where 80 research participants in the resettled areas were selected. In the communal ward, the Agritex farmers' register was employed for the same to select the remaining 40 research participants making a total of 120 research participants for the quantitative component of the study.

4.6.3 Determination of the Sample Size and the Sampling Procedures

A total of 1731 households constituted the population frame made of up 850 households in the communal control group (Ward 25), 431 households in the A2 Mkwasine farming area (Ward 21) and 450 households in the A1 Maware (Ward 20). A sample size of 120 survey participants was randomly selected at.95-confidence level (CL) and a confidence interval (CI)

of 8.36 as calculated using a sample size calculator. Stratified random sampling was used to select 120 participants who participated in the preliminary quantitative study (see Figure 4.1). They comprised 40 participants from each of the three embedded units of analysis (Figure 5.4). Ward Agricultural Extension Farmer Registers were used as sample frames—information source from which the elements in the samples were selected (Ritchie *et al.* 2014). Samples for the quantitative study were selected according to a pre-determined criterion for equal representation of 60 MHHs and 60 FHHs. The latter category was aggregated into various categories of women (divorced/separated/never married and widowed) with an explicit objective that each category is represented though not equally (see Table 4.1). Married women were already represented in the first cohort.

The process involved listing separately male and female land beneficiaries extracted from the main Ward Land Beneficiary Register to produce a female and male list of land beneficiaries. These lists constituted the sampling frame for the selection of MHHs and FHHs. Land beneficiaries in each secondary list were assigned a number and a random number table used to pick research participants to constitute the study sample. An interesting phenomenon that emerged from the use of land beneficiary list aggregated by gender was the selection of MHHs within a female list, particularly MHHs whose land is registered in the name of the wife. This category, though not many, presented interesting cases for follow-up in the subsequent qualitative study to explore household gender dynamics, particularly relating to control over household resources.

A similar process was repeated in the communal study area where the Ward registers were listed by the head of household not necessarily gender of the land beneficiary in the resettlement areas. While care was taken to ensure that within the female land beneficiary list, all categories of women were selected, widows were predominant, as shown in Table 4.1 above. This was not surprising, particularly after close to two decades post-land reform, the majority plots would have been succeeded by widows following the death of their husbands (Goebel 2005: 9). Due to attrition following data cleaning 32 (15 MHHs and 17 FHHs) completed A2 survey questionnaire; 33 (20 MHHs and 13 FHHs) completed A1 survey questionnaires, and 40 (21 MHHs and 19 FHHs) completed Communal survey questionnaires remained making a total of 105 (56 MHHs and 49 FHHs) respondents for the quantitative component of the study (see Table 4.1). Before any gender comparison, for a given dependent variable, within or across study sites could be done, the researcher conducted computations within each category (MHHs or FHHs) to eliminate the effect unequal numbers

by gender of participants in each study site. Thus, the percentages presented in tables represent calculations within each gender category in a study site, whereas the totals captured percentages for the whole study site or area. A similar approach was used for cross-tabulations using the default gender of plot holder as the independent variable.

Guided by the sequential explanatory mixed-method design adopted for this study (Figure 4.1 above)—thirty (30) female participants were purposively selected to participate in the qualitative research segment of the study through in-depth interviews (IDIs). Table 4.2 below provides a summarised sample of the qualitative research in a table format. The sample comprised 15 female participants from the A2 sugarcane growing areas and another 15 female participants from the A1 farming areas. Two-thirds (20) of the IDI participants were drawn from FHHs to give greater weight to the perspectives and experiences of women in the study. The remaining 10 in-depth interview participants drawn from MHHs were divided equally between the resettlement study sites.

Table 4.2 Disaggregation of IDI Participants by Study Site and Gender of Household

Study Area	Female-H/Holds	Male-H/Holds	**Total**
A2 Sugar Area	10	5	**15**
A1 Farming Area	10	5	**15**
Total	**20**	**10**	**30**

The qualitative study sought to take advantage of the representative sample and information about the study population from the preliminary quantitative study as part of its input in the selection of IDI participants. Consequently, the IDIs were a follow-up process on cases of interest from land reform beneficiaries identified through the preliminary quantitative study exploring in-depth identified issues on a face-to-face basis with the participants. The research, by default, was set to target female respondents either within MHHs or FHHs. This applied to both the quantitative and qualitative components of the study. This was a conscious decision, particularly in view of the household as a site of contestation, which proved to be so. Some wives showed lack of knowledge of some household information, particularly information relating to farm production, income and expenditure figures. They often had to refer such questions to the husband or seek the latter's assistance who would reluctantly share or excuse themselves as requiring time to look into the figures. Adoption of purposive sampling was based on Ritchie's assertion that it enables the "selection of

participants, settings and other units of study based or chosen for having attributes that will enable a detailed exploration and understanding of the central themes and characteristics the researcher wishes to study" (Ritchie 2014:113). In the same vein, Patton "argues that the logic and strength of purposive sampling lies in selecting information-rich cases for in-depth study enabling the researcher to gather detailed data on the issues central to the purpose of the research" (2002:106).

4.7 Data Collection

As suggested by the (QUAL+quan) mixed-method designation of the study, see Figure 4.1, primacy was accorded to the qualitative component of the research project. As such data collection was done within an ethnographic research approach. Although many definitions have been proffered, Hammersley and Atkinson defines "ethnography in its characteristic form as involving the researcher (ethnographer) participating overtly or covertly in the people's daily lives for an extended period, watching what happens, listening to what is said, asking questions——in fact collecting whatever data available to throw light on the issues that are focus of the research" (1995:1). The researcher spent 8 months in the study communities from the 27th of March 2016, the day the researcher arrived in Chiredzi to the 4th of November 2016 when the fieldwork ended. Within this period, a combined mix of quantitative and qualitative research methods was employed to gather field data within an explanatory sequential mixed-methods framework.

4.7.1 Quantitative Data Gathering: Survey Questionnaire

In line with an explanatory sequential qualitative mixed-method design, Figure 4.1, a quantitative survey study a pre-coded questionnaire (Appendices A) as the data collection tool was conducted in the three sites, the Mkwasine A2 farming areas, the Maware A1 farming areas and the Muteyo communal lands (see Figure 4.2). The latter functioned as a control group in the study. A total of 120 survey questionnaire interviews were conducted but eventually cut to 105 completed survey questionnaires as explained previously. Apart from capturing the demographic characteristics of research participants, the quantitative study provided an overview of the general situation in both resettlement and the communal areas. Quantitative data was gathered from female as well as male-headed households within the research sites. By using the household as the unit of analysis, while also looking into individual women's experiences, the researcher sought to assess the gendered experiences,

concerns, needs and perceptions of women in different household settings regarding the FTLRP. The survey instrument was robust enough to capture as much detail as possible along the four research questions.

Regarding the conduct of the survey interviews, once a household was selected to be part of the study sample, the researcher, with the assistance of the Agritex Ward Officers visited the household to secure their consent to participate in the study. Once informed consent was secured, an appointment schedule will be set with the participant(s) on the date and time they will be available. This was particularly important in view of the length of the survey instrument. On the day of the appointment, the respondent signed an informed consent form (Appendix A). The venue of the interview was left to the discretion of the respondent such that questionnaire interviews were conducted mostly at homes (inside or outside), in the fields and a few at workplaces, particularly the employed A2 respondents. Based on the survey questionnaires conducted by the researcher, on average, a single interview took between one and a half to two hours, as the instrument was quite detailed. At least three maximum questionnaire interviews could be conducted per day, requiring the need for research assistants.

The researcher solicited the assistance of research assistants in conducting the survey. While, the majority of the research assistants were male Ward Agritex officers, where available female officers were recruited. In Ward 20 Mkwasine Sugarcane farming area, three ward Agritex officers were recruited, and one of them was female. While the recruitment of ward Agritex officers eliminated the need for extensive training, as they are familiar with conducting such interviews in the Zimbabwe Vulnerability Assessments (ZimVAC) conducted after every cropping season to assess food needs across the country, this had potential to raise issues of unequal power relations, stigma and honesty in the reporting processes. This was particularly so on participants' objectivity in assessing the education they received from the same person conducting the interview, access to agricultural inputs and reporting on the yields. This was particularly true and significant to acknowledge. However, based on the understanding that the same officers are responsible for collecting ZimVAC and other household agricultural assessments that collect similar data used by government and other agencies to access the food situation in the country some degree of professionalism on the part of the Ward Officers was anticipated.

On the other hand, while additional female social scientists could have been recruited, the rural settings in which the study sites are located worked against this endeavour, particularly the cost implications. The researcher sought to reduce cost by recruiting resident research assistants within the study areas rather than moving across the study sites with the same assistance requiring accommodation, transport and subsistence allowances. As highlighted, where capable female research assistants were available, they were recruited. In line with the study design, the quantitative study preceded a qualitative study in which the former was subsequently used as a sample frame for the latter, highlighting the integration of methods at the data collection stage.

4.7.2 Qualitative Data Gathering

Ethnographers employ many different strategies when it comes to data collection, using equipment such as audio recorders, and cameras. Increasingly, video cameras are being used in the data collection process (Murchison 2010:73). This is in addition to field notebooks and pens for making notes. During the researcher stay within the study communities field notes were used to capture informal and spontaneous conversations where it was not always possible to use audio recorders, as it would be conspicuous and have an undesirable effect on the conversations. The participant-observer position enabled the researcher to use field notes and observations captured through a camera as a complementary technique of the qualitative data gathering process (Murchison 2010:13). As part of the ethnographic study, the researcher stayed in Chiredzi District for an 8-month period doing ethnographic work from 27th of March 2016 until the 4th of November 2016. In the communities, the Agritex officer accommodated the researcher either in their homes or offered some office for accommodation. The latter was possible as the researcher was given an Internship Letter indicating attachment to the Chiredzi District Agritex Office (see Appendix B).

4.7.2.1 In-depth Interviews

In-depth interviews with land beneficiaries were an integral component of the qualitative study. In-depth interview as a generated data source involves a guided face-to-face semi-structured conversation with the researcher utilising open-ended questions to collect high-quality data in qualitative research. The method's in-depth focus enabled detailed investigation of participants' perspective and subject coverage, thus capturing subjects' multiple views of a theme (Denzin and Lincoln 2000; Ritchie 2003). In feminist research, in-

depth interviews can be employed successfully in exploring women's subjective experiences and the meanings they attach to the phenomena under study. As highlighted above a total of 30 IDIs were conducted as a follow-up process on cases of interest from land reform beneficiaries identified through the preliminary quantitative study. Two-thirds (20) of the IDI participants were drawn from FHHs. Since these were more planned and formal conversations, an audio recorder proved effective and helpful in documenting these lengthy semi-structured interviews. An IDI guide (see Appendices A) was used as the data collection instrument with similarly designed questions with the preliminary quantitative study. The questions asked in the revolved around the four research questions (see Section 1.9 and Appendices A). Being equipped with quantitative data on each of the IDI participants from the preliminary quantitative study enabled the researcher to note issues of interest to explore further with each participant, thus producing a rich corpus of qualitative data.

The process of conducting IDIs was not different from the one described for the survey questionnaire except that the IDIs required securing consent of the participant to be audio-recorded. This was not important in the survey study. The need for audio recording made the choice of where to conduct the IDIs restricted, as this would require a closed space to eliminate the effect of wind and some external noise. As such, all IDIs were conducted indoors. No research assistants were recruited to assist with IDIs, as this would require the researcher's skills in probing issues pertinent to the research study. Depending on the issues under discussion, the time taken to conduct single IDIs ranged from one to one and a half hours. In view of the length of the research instruments and the fact that 30 of the respondents participated in both the quantitative and qualitative study components, the commitment of the former to the research study in terms of time off their daily routines is highly appreciated.

4.7.2.2 Field Observation

Field observation represents one of the indispensable tools of a qualitative researcher and has been incorporated as one of this study's multiple case study data gathering tools. The ethnographic approach adopted in the study made the technique one of the complementary data collection methods in addition to the surveys and the in-depth interviews. Morgan *et al.* (2017: 1061) defined observation research as "directly observing and recording how research participants behave within and relate to their physical and social environment." As an auxiliary data gathering techniques, the research made use of unstructured observation of the research context, taking down field notes and capturing some aspects of the research using a

camera. The observed and captured details included participant practices and behaviour, the different farmers' activities, assets and gender relations among research participants. In addition to these were the different physical infrastructures, including farmers' fields. Some of the recorded data and photos that were taken are presented in the results discussion chapters

4.7.2.3 Focus Group Discussions (FDGs)

Qualitative data was also gathered through FDGs using an FDG guide (see Appendices A). These qualitative primary data gathering techniques normally involve 8-12 respondents brought together to discuss a research issue (Ritchie 2003; Lewis 2003; Morgan 2013). The researcher's target was to conduct four FDGs, two (one for females and another one for males) in each resettled study areas. However, geographical constraints and the busy schedule of the sugarcane farmers constrained the scheduling of the FGDs with the A2 sugarcane farmers. This is because the study was conducted amid the sugarcane-cutting season (May to November). Thus, the research ended up having two FGDs in the A1 farming areas. A total of 25 farmers participated in the group discussions, 13 and 12 for the female and male FGDs. These were conducted on the 23rd and 24th of October 2016, respectively. The FDGs were the last to be conducted, enabling clarification of issues and practical solutions to challenges from the perspective of the farmers themselves.

As argued by Ritchie (2003), in-group diversity composition enriches the discussion of the topic under study and the group dynamics afforded by FDGs provide an opportunity for reflection and refinement thus deepening participants' insight into their own circumstances, attitude and behaviour. The female FGDs drew participants from women of diverse marital status, those with plots in their own names and without, all of whom have participated in the quantitative and qualitative studies. The male FGDs drew participants from those with plots in their own names, those whose plots are in the names of their wives. The group also included the Chairperson of the Committee of Seven, the Ward Councillor and Village Heads as part of the participants. While no politically sensitive matters were part of the research study as it focused more on factual welfare and household dynamics issues (refer to Appendix A FDG Guide), the inclusion of community leaders had potential to alter the power dynamics despite each participant participating as a plot holder. At the same time, the presence of these community leaders provided a platform for participants to air their views on different matters so that the community leaders can attend to them, particularly their

community needs as access to water, roads and other facilities. The separation of male and female FDG had an implicit objective to eliminate household power dynamics, which may prevent wives from discussing issues affecting them in the presence of their husbands. An all-female or all-male group created an open environment for either gender to discuss their issues on their own without immediate or post-FDG backlash from the other gender. The Ward Agricultural Extension Officer participated in both discussion groups since he works both with the female and male land beneficiaries. Both the group discussions were captured using an audio recorder complemented by a camera.

4.7.2.4 Key Informant Interviews

Fourteen key informant interviews constituted part of the qualitative data collection. Three of these were conducted in February 2016 during the researcher's stay at (SMAIAS) with Directors of organisations working with women farmers at the national level, namely Women and Land in Zimbabwe (WLZ), Women Farmers, Land and Agriculture Trust (WFLAT) and Zimbabwe Indigenous Women Farmers Association Trust (ZIWFAT). All these women farmers' organisations are based in Harare but work with farmers at the grassroots. These key informants provided invaluable insights, opinions and perspectives regarding women's access, control and ownership of land in Zimbabwe, particularly the FTLRP. The rest were conducted in Chiredzi and included Ward Agricultural Extension Officers (A1 and A2 farming study areas), private Field Extension Officers (Better Agriculture A1 farming areas and Tongaat Hulletts, Zimbabwe A2 sugarcane farming areas), female representative of the Mkwasine Sugarcane Farmers Association, Chairperson of the Committee of Seven (A1 farming areas), Chiredzi sub-Catchment Field Officer, District Agriculture and Extension Services Officer, District Land Officer and the District Social Services Officer. All were audio-recorded providing a rich corpus of qualitative data on gender and land reform in Zimbabwe from national, district to the local level.

4.8 Data Analysis and Interpretation

As depicted in Figure 4.1, data collected from the two sub-components of the study were analysed separately, with each producing its own set of findings. Data analysis is defined as the process of "separating of materials (text) into its constituent elements or thinking units whereas interpretation is the process of drawing meaning from analysed data and attempting to see these in a larger (theoretical) context" (Ely, Vinz, Anzul and Downing 1999:60, 62;

Hesse-Biber 2010:73). As such, the two are separate but intertwined processes. The preceding discussion focuses on how the two sets of data were analysed and interpreted.

4.8.1 Quantitative Data Analysis

Data are pieces of organised information about elements of a population linked to cases. The cases are individual units being studied who contain datum or observation for each variable. A variable is a characteristic being measured on cases (Sweet and Grace-Martin 2003:2). The quantitative data collection attempted to incorporate the experimental designs by conducting survey in both resettled areas, acting as experimental group with manipulation of aspects of the setting in a field situation (public intervention in the form of land reform) and a communal area acting as control group, with no manipulation (no land reform), for comparison and validity purposes. As such, the quantitative study had three data sets viz. A1 farming areas, A2 farming areas and the communal area (see Figure 5.4). This had a bearing on how the quantitative data was analysed and interpreted.

4.8.1.1 Data Cleaning and Entry in SPSS

Data cleaning was the first step towards analysis in which the researcher went through all the questionnaires to ensure that questionnaire identification and all other variables were completely captured. The cleaning stage reduced the number of questionnaires to 105 with 32, 33 and 40 for A2, A1 and communal study areas respectively. Pre-coding the questionnaire instrument made the data-entry into the SPSS software much easier as the process involved translating the survey questions into variables. Location, socio-economic and demographic details were captured in a different section apart from the one categorised according to research questions. A research project variable template was created in SPSS using the data view window with a total of 291 variables. This was followed by the entry of values for each variable from the questionnaires. The data entry process also involved the reconfiguration of existing variables, converting some from numerical to a categorical variables or vice versa to make them better suited to statistical analysis (Sweet and Grace-Martin 2003:67). When the data entry was complete, the researcher checked through the data running some statistical tests to check anomalies in the data capturing process. This involved at times returning to the questionnaires to ensure data was accurately entered.

4.8.1.2 Computer-Aided Quantitative Data Analysis Software (CAQDA)- SPSS

The software package IBM SPSS Statistics 24 for quantitative data analysis made available through the University proved useful in analysing the large sets of data. The software was used to run univariate analysis to find out how individuals/respondents were distributed in relation to a given variable. Bivariate analyses were also computed to find connections/relationships between two given variables at a time. Cross tabulations, one of the most frequently used way of demonstrating the presence or absence of relationship (Bryman and Duncan 2005:205) were used to find associations between variables, particularly with the gender of the household head which was the main comparison/independent variable in the analysis. In some tables, a default independent variable gender of plot holder was used to construct cross-tabulations distributed as follows: 12 male plot holders; 20 female plot holders (32 A2 study area); 15 male plot holders; 18 female plot holders (33 A1 study area) and 18 male plot holders; 22 female plot holders (40 Communal study area). Total 45 male plot holders; 60 female plot holders (105 male and female plot holders).

The data analysis software proved useful in calculating statistical significance, a measure of the probability and strength of the relationship between two variables. This enabled the researcher to ascertain that the observed relationship between the variables is not by chance (Sweetman and Grace-Martin 2003:87; Bryman and Duncan 2005:207). The Pearson Chi-square/Fisher Exact Tests of Significance were used for categorical variables, whereas the Spearman's Correlation was used for numerical variables. Also computed was the level-of-significance relationship between variables at.01 and.05 significance levels. The other utility of the software lied in its ability to separate the data sets during analysis enabling results to be displayed by research study areas. The software enabled taking real-world observations and exposing these observations to statistical analysis to systematically study social relationships and understanding the social world——the crux of interpreting statistical results.

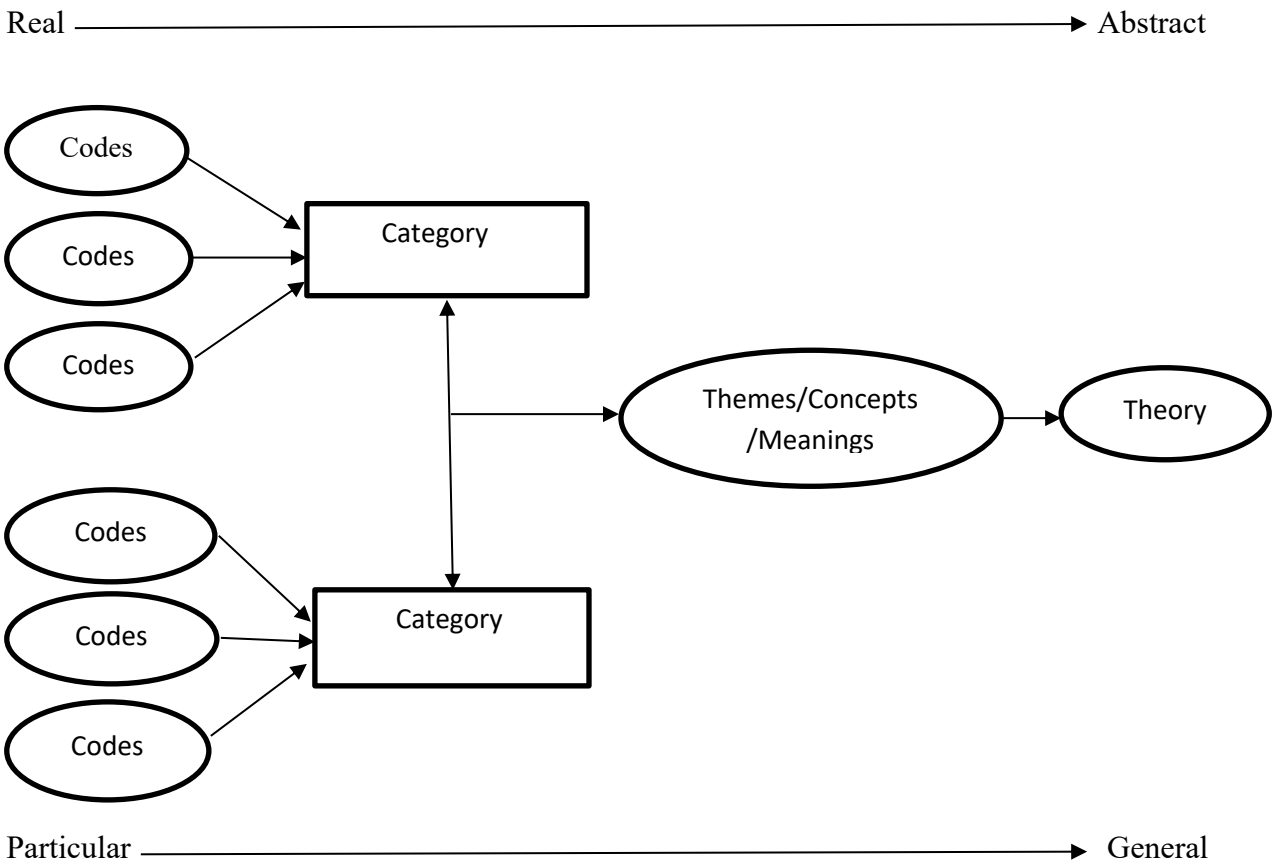
4.8.2 Qualitative Data Analysis

The qualitative data analysis was not to develop a theory as presented in Figure 5.5 below. It shows the derivation of themes or meaning from categories and codes. The process has to be preceded by data transcription and exporting the transcripts into Atlas ti as outlined.

4.8.2.1 Data Transcription

Much of the qualitative data, that is, the in-depth, focus group discussions and key informant interviews were captured using an audio recorder. As indicated by Murchison (2010:75) if a researcher had made a recording of interviews and/or conversations the first step in data analysis entail transcription——an important but tedious part of the qualitative research process.

Figure 4.5 Qualitative Data Analysis.



Adapted from Saldana (2009:11).

Transcription entails listening to and typing out interviews and involve stopping, rewinding, restarting the recorder many times to create a transcript of the interviews (Murchison 2010: 75). The process of transcribing 30 IDIs, 14 key informant interviews and two Focus Group Discussion conversations took a month, as the transcribing process could not start during the fieldwork stage. Since IDIs and FDGs were in local language, this stage involved simultaneous translation and transcription by the researcher. As such, there was little data cleaning as the service was not hired out during data collection.

4.8.2.2 Exporting Transcripts into Atlas. Ti

The transcribed texts were then exported into a computer-aided qualitative data analysis software Atlas. ti accessed through the University. A Hermeneutic Unit was created and saved within the software program. Before coding could commence data, texts were grouped by their names viz. in-depth interviews for A1 and A2 farming study areas, and key informant interviews.

4.8.2.3 The Coding Process

Strauss (1987: 27) stresses "the excellence of qualitative research rests in large part on the excellence of coding". A "code in qualitative inquiry is most often a word or short phrase that symbolically assign a summative, salient, essence capturing, and/or evocative attribute for a portion of language-based or visual data" (Saldana 2009:3). The ontological, epistemological and methodological perspective of the study informed the coding process. This process involved the assigning of codes to parts of the texts beginning with in-depth interviews then the FGDs and lastly the key informant transcripts. The first round of coding produced 230 codes from the whole corpus of qualitative data. Saldana stresses that coding is a cyclical process and seldom is the first round perfectly attempted (2009:8). The second round of coding involving merging similar codes and deleting some with fewer occurrences, shown by the densities in the software program enabling the researcher to come up with a more manageable number of 143 codes.

4.8.2.4 Grouping of Codes into Categories

As argued by Saldana, "coding is the initial step towards an even more rigorous and evocative analysis and interpretation, it not just labelling but a linking process leading the researcher from the data to the idea, and the idea to all the data pertaining to that idea" (Saldana 2009:8). Codes are useful in generating categories or families as they share some characteristics (Lincoln and Guba 1985: 347). As shown in Figure 5.5, after coding was complete, all the codes were grouped into 14 categories as part of the data reduction process.

4.8.2.5 From Categories to Themes/Concepts and Meaning

Dey (1999) states that in the same way codes make up categories, with categories meanings are computed. When "major categories are compared with each other and consolidated in

various forms, the researcher begins to transcend the 'reality' of the data and progresses towards the thematic, conceptual meaning of the data" (Saldana 2009:11). As shown in Figure 5.5 above, the categories were subsequently classified as those pertaining to production, redistribution, social institutions and relations, social protection and social reproduction as informed by the research questions guiding the study. The software enabled the management and analysis of 43 text documents under the qualitative component of the study facilitating the easy movement between codes and the text whenever the researcher intended to quote directly from the texts in the write-up process. By the end of the data analysis stage, the researcher was equipped with a rich set of qualitative and quantitative data. The next section discusses how these sets of findings were integrated during the write-up process.

4.9 Writing 'from' not 'with' the Data

Murchison cautions researchers from the temptation to write with instead from the data. The former is associated with the risk of producing a general account and writing about the things the researcher expected or wanted to find during the research (2010:175). He commends writing from the data despite the process requiring time and dedication in organising and sorting the data in terms of questions and themes in the write-up process. Researchers find the writing-up process easier if the research questions have remained stable during the research as they have to look back to the proposal for key concepts and questions as a way of organising the writing process (Hesse-Biber 2010:84). The study research questions remained relatively stable and were used as the basis for organising the four results chapters viz production, the redistributive effect on social institutions and relations, social protection and reproduction.

4.9.1 Integrating Quantitative and Qualitative Findings

Despite the potential of a mixed-method approach to combine words, pictures and narratives together with quantitative statistical data (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie 2004:21), mixed-method researchers are faced with the challenge of ensuring that the findings from both studies are in conversation with each other as they weave a richer and more complex story (Hesse-Biber 2010:67). As illustrated in Figure 5.1, the quantitative study (quan) was subservient to qualitative study (QUAN), all within an interpretive feminist epistemology. As such the researcher adopted a non-realistic tale method of research writing (Bailey 1996:106);

an approach more suited to the research's ontological and epistemological standpoints, as it pays attention to the voices of the respondents, acknowledging that multiple voices need to be examined in understanding social reality.

In much of the writing process, the results and findings from both methods were integrated into an on-going process with the researcher going either to the quantitative or qualitative findings for confirmation as shown by the double arrow in Figure 5.1. In some instances, the researcher juxtaposed in-depth findings with the survey results, particularly in those instances where the two studies collected similar information. Asserting qualitative data utility as a marker of social processes, Bulmer (1984) argues that social structure can be defined in terms of positions, social change, which implies transformation. This can be defined in terms of movement in which statistical data becomes valuable. As such mixed methods approach captures both transformations, be it in social structures (institutions and relations) or change in terms of position. Within the thesis narrative, the reader finds words, pictures, and narratives integrated with statistical data in the construction of meaning and social realities, as the researcher strived to write from the data.

4.10 Validity and Reliability in Mixed Methods Approaches

Hesse-Biber argues that before assessing validity and reliability in mixed methods approaches researchers need to revisit the research problem and ascertain which reliability and validation procedures to consider as some research questions may require more quantitative while others require more qualitative reliability and validation procedures (2010:88). She is quick to point out that in most cases mixed methods studies require a mixed-method validation process, which she argues often take "a methods-centric discussion regarding the mismatch of mixed methods design elements" and correctness of the procedures (Hesse-Biber 2010: 86). Questions on reliability focus on obtaining equivalent results were the same procedures and measures to be repeated on the same study population, whereas validity focuses on the "extent to which responses tend to obtain the same underlying issues such that there is general agreement" (Hesse-Biber 2010: 123).

4.10.1 Sequential Designs, Validity and Reliability Issues

Integration of methods during the data collection stage (see Figure 5.1) served multiple functions at once. First, the use of a random sample in the quantitative study not only bolsters the reliability and validity of the study but also enhanced the quality of qualitative findings.

Secondly, it provided options for enhancing the validity and reliability of the qualitative findings. Since the related questions were asked in both studies triangulating methods at the data-gathering stage contributed to the validity and reliability of both research findings (Yauch and Steudel 2003:466 cited in Hesse-Biber 2010).

4.10.2 Integrating Findings for Reliability and Validity

After separate data analysis, during the write-up process, the researcher juxtaposed findings from each study interrogating the findings from one study to help understand findings from the other study. This triangulation of research findings enabled the researcher to gauge the extent to which the findings are converging. This was made possible, as the two studies had utilised related questions, thus enhancing the validity and reliability of both findings potentially providing a more complex understanding of the social reality. In cases where lack of clarity existed in the findings of one study, the other findings provided useful insights into the matter.

4.10.3 Control Group and Internal Validity

Creswell (2014) identifies two types of "threats to validity in quantitative research viz. internal threats and external threats. Internal validity threats are experimental procedures, treatments, or experiences of the participants that threaten the researcher's ability to draw correct inferences from the data about the population in an experiment". One researcher's response to internal validity threats involves the use of experimental and control groups in which the former receives treatment, and the latter does not (Bryman and Duncan 2005:6). To enhance the validity of the quantitative findings, the researcher gathered quantitative data from land beneficiaries (experimental group) and non-land reform beneficiaries (control group). The control group acted as a benchmark for comparison with the land beneficiaries on presentation of findings during the write-up process to enhance the validity of the research findings.

4.10.4 Communication of Findings and Validity Issues

Communication and pragmatism assess how well research results find legitimacy in the community of experts (Hesse-Biber 2010:88). Part of the research findings was presented as one of the South African Research Chair in Social Policy on-going research seminars on the 19th of April 2017. Other parts were presented at the 27th Annual South African Sociological

Association (SASA) Conference held in Mafikeng, South Africa from the 2nd-5th of July 2017 as well as the SASA 28th edition held from the 1st to 4th of July 2018 hosted by the University of Western Cape, Cape Town South Africa. Constructive feedback received after the presentations were incorporated into the study.

4.11 Positionality and Reflexivity in Research

Creswell (2007) argued that it is not only ontological, epistemological and methodological issues that the researcher brings to the study but also their subjectivities, personalities, predispositions, cultural and historical experiences, which may have a bearing on their entire research process. As such, rather than trying to disregard the effect of the researcher, reflexive researchers try to understand their effects by constantly reflecting on how researcher's positionality, values, reactions, feelings and experiences—during fieldwork, data analysis, interpretation—may creep in to overcome what positivists call 'investigator bias's (Hammesley and Atkinson 1995:18; Whitehead 2005). Positionality refers to the location of the researcher with regard to their gender, age, sexuality, class, race, ethnicity, culture, nationality, language and nationality relative to research participants (Manohar, Liamputtong, Bhole and Arora 2019: 1603; Galam 2015). Reflexivity——a process of the researcher's acknowledging and disclosing their own selves and seeking to understand their own part in, and influence in the research——informs positionality (Ahmed, Hundt and Blackburn 2010:468; Manohar *et al.* 2019: 1603).

Locating myself in relation to the subject, being a Zimbabwean national researching in a Zimbabwean context gave me an insider perspective to the research subject, land reform and resettlement in Zimbabwe, particularly the FTLRP that occurred in 2000. At the same time, it is important to acknowledge the historical background of the land question in Zimbabwe with its racial connotations. Being positioned as a member of the historically disadvantaged group had the potential to influence not only the research process but also the interpretation of the outcomes of the land reform process. Situating myself in relation to the participants entailed being simultaneously an insider and outsider. Sharing the same culture and Shona language with the research participants made communication easier as there was no need for interpreters. Resultantly, finding my way through the research sites and interacting with members of the community required little assistance. This also made my stay in the communities much easier, despite coming from another province outside Masvingo where Chiredzi District is located. While this made the researcher to be classified as an insider,

other identity dimensions, particularly coming from a 'middle-class' and educated had potential to create unequal power relations with the research participants, majority of whom were rural farmers.

Critically important with inherent unequal power relations was the influence of gender in the fieldwork, more so as a male researcher whose participants were predominantly women. Within a feminist approach, which the researcher used in this research, it has been widely held that " feminist research should be 'by, for and about women'; it best women conduct research with other women and that men cannot effectively study women (Oakley 1981; Galam 2015; Manohar *et al.* 2019: 1604; Scheyvens and Leslie 2000: 122). Thus, the impact of my male gender on researching and interpreting women's experiences required constant examination and self-reflection on my relationship with the meaning, interpretation, representation, knowledge and power dynamics involved in the whole research process. Attendant gender relations remained a constant object of reflexivity during the whole research process from data collection, through analysis, interpretation and the final write-up. While this remained key, the topic of research interest touched not much on sensitive issues, particularly those pertaining to women's sexuality, which could have been foreclosed to me as a male researcher. The closer the research came to these related to discussions on gender dynamics on household incomes, the sharing of housework and related matters, which research participants were not as constrained to discuss. This said the overriding objective was the production of a narrative that is true to the knowledge gained from the informants rather than the knowledge and assumptions the researcher brought to the study. This was particularly important as a male person researching on issues of gender.

4.12 Administration of Study

4.12.1 Finances

The study was made possible through a field research grant from the National Research Foundation and the University of South Africa, through the SARChI Chair in Social Policy. The costs include office space, stationery particularly the printing of survey questionnaires, mentorship, teas and refreshments during the first three months stay at SMAIAS from January to March 2016. While in the field the grant covered all travel to and from including within and between research sites, accommodation and subsistence, research assistantship, food and refreshments during focus group discussions.

4.12.2 Stay at SMAIAS

The 3-month stay at SMAIAS provided access to the rich longitudinal survey data on Chiredzi and other 5 districts, including other research materials in the Institute's repository. A quantitative study was not originally part of the proposal. However, during the stay at the Institute, the researcher drafted and pilot-tested the survey instrument in Macheke area (Mashonaland East Province) to ensure it captures the required data. At the same time, the researcher took the opportunity of being in Harare to conduct the first three Key Informant interviews with gender activist organisations working on women and land, and to submit letters seeking authority to conduct research to relevant Ministries. By the time the researcher left SMAIAS at the end of March 2016, all data gathering tools including 120 survey questionnaires, in-depth and key informant interview guides, consent forms were in place.

4.12.3 Access to Research Sites

Access to field sites was facilitated through SMAIAS, which has field contact persons in Chiredzi District through an introductory letter (see Appendices B). The researcher arrived in Chiredzi on 27th of March 2016 for an 8-month period of ethnographic work until the 4th of November 2016. Fortunate enough, the researcher arrival coincided with the period when the District Agricultural and Extension (Agritex) Department, through which field access was facilitated, was conducting its Household Vulnerability Assessments Surveys. All Ward Agritex Officers were at the district office to submit their reports. Having selected the study sites, through the assistance of the District Agritex Officer, the researcher was introduced to the respective Ward Agritex Officers of the selected wards and exchanged mobile phone numbers. The officers were advised to expect me in their wards for the study. The District Agritex Officer subsequently drafted an introductory letter confirming the researcher as a research intern within the department (see Appendices B). This facilitated easy access to the field with no challenges encountered.

4.12.4 Field Activities

As indicated in the research design, Figure 5.1, the first quantitative study was conducted within the A1 areas (Ward 20 see Figure 5.2) during the month of April 2016. The Ward Agritex Officer was recruited at an agreed rate as the research assistant to assist with administering the survey questionnaire. Not much training was needed, as the officer was

familiar with conducting surveys together with the researcher. Having finished administering the questionnaires, participants for the qualitative interviews were purposively sampled, and the researcher conducted the in-depth interviews, as they were to be audio-recorded. The IDIs, together with the KIIs for the A1 study areas, were completed by the end of May 2016. During the stay within the A1 areas, the Ward Agritex officer provided the researcher with accommodation.

The researcher moved to Ward 25 Muteyo communal lands (see Figure 5.2), which acted as the control group for the quantitative study and was welcomed by two Agritex officers. The officers made their office available for the researcher's accommodation. The researcher was introduced to farmers during one of their meetings, making for easy access to the farmers. The two officers were recruited to assist in administering the survey questionnaires at an agreed rate per questionnaire. The stay within the communal study site lasted 5 weeks into the first week of July. Since no IDIs were scheduled for the control group the research left in the first week of July 2016 heading to Mkwasine Ward 21.

The A2 farming areas (Ward 21 see Figure 5.2) were the last to be visited mid-July 2016. The study area had its own complexities in terms of access to farmers, mainly because of geographical distances. As in other study areas, the three Agritex officers working in the ward welcomed the researcher. What complicated the study was that the period coincided with the sugarcane-cutting season and farmers were not easily accessible. As in other areas, introductions to elders within the areas went well and soon began the selection of farmers for the quantitative study. In this study area, the researcher and the assistants had to work with appointments, which at times got cancelled and re-scheduled. Completion of the quantitative study took more time than anticipated. When a sizeable number of survey questionnaires were completed, the researcher began conducting in-depth interviews, while the research assistants completed the remaining few survey questionnaires. By mid-September 2016, both the quantitative and qualitative studies in the A2 area were completed.

4.12.5 Rounding Up the Study

After completing the research activities at Mkwasine Ward 21, outstanding were key informant interviews with District Officers and the FGDs. The former needed letters of authority from their respective Head Offices in Harare. The researcher left the Field for Harare to obtain the letters. As the process involved a lot of bureaucracy, the researcher

managed to return to the field mid-October with letters of Authority from the Ministry of Lands and Rural Development, Ministry of Agriculture and Ministry of Social Services (Appendices B). The researcher went to the A1 areas for the two FGDs, that were conducted on the 23rd and 24th of October, before returning for the interviews at the district level. Upon returning, the researcher set up appointments with the District Officers of the respective Ministries. The last interview was conducted on 4th of November 2016, marking the end of the fieldwork. On the 5th of November, the researcher left Chiredzi loaded with copious amounts of data for analysis.

4.13 Ethical Considerations

As pointed out by Stevens, the complexity of "researching private lives and placing accounts in the public arena raises multiple ethical issues for the researcher" (Stevens 2013). Protection of study participants' privacy must be a researcher's primary concern. As such, the researcher has a responsibility to society and research participants and is expected to adhere to professional codes of conduct (Stevens 2013). Regarding this research as part of the responsibility to society, the researcher ensured respect for, and awareness of gender differences by maintaining confidentiality and anonymity. This was achieved by ensuring that all data collected was treated with appropriate confidentiality and anonymity. As part of maintaining respect for participants in terms of intrusion and privacy, the researcher respected the privacy of participants always. In terms of venue, research participants could choose their most convenient venue for the interviews. The researcher endeavoured to maintain a respectful researcher/participant relationship bound by University research code of ethics.

To ensure that participation in the research was voluntary, the researcher ensured participants' decision to be part of the research is made from an informed position. This was achieved by ensuring that all participants were informed about the purpose of the research that they were being asked to participate in, and the type of questions they were to be asked. Thereafter, the participants were handed an informed consent form (see Appendix A), allowing time to go through it (or have it read to them). Thereafter, they were requested to append their signatures on the form as confirmation of agreement to voluntarily participate in the interview or focus group discussion. The informed consent process bound the researcher in protecting the participant's anonymity and confidentiality and for all data. All participant information and data shall be kept in a safe and lockable space until the results are published.

4.14 Conclusion

The chapter outlined how the journey initially outlined in the research proposal was put into practice, the field experiences, challenges encountered, and adjustments made during the project, the data analysis, interpretation and the write-up process. While it was a tedious journey, the researcher managed to collect data from the field, which was then analysed back in office. The remaining chapters of this thesis outline the findings from the activities set out in this chapter.

Chapter Five

Enhancement of Productive Capacities and Welfare

5.0 Introduction

This chapter begins by proffering a definition of productive capacities as conceptualised in this study. Henceforth selected indicators to measure household productive capacities are discussed contrasting female vis-à-vis male-headed households benchmarked against the control communal group. Among the discussed household enhanced productive capacity indicators are household cultivable land size; access to productive (irrigation) water; participation in the national economy; access to public and private agricultural extension services and access to agricultural inputs, credit and loans as engendered by the FTLRP in Chiredzi District. Reflective of the enhanced household productive capacities some of the outcomes discussed in the chapter include reduced crop losses due to droughts, accumulation of productive assets (tractors) and observed backwards and forward production chain linkages, smallholders, farmers have been able to create. The welfare implications of the enhanced productive capacities at household and individual level are weaved through within the discussions.

5.1 Towards a Definition of Productive Capacities

The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) defines productive capacities as the maximum possible output of an economy (including agriculture, industry and service) and proposes productive resources, entrepreneurial capabilities and production linkages as key determinants of a "capacity of a country to produce goods and services" (2006: 61). More applicably, the term may also be applied to individuals' resources and assets. Within the Transformative Social Policy framework social policy interventions targeting human capital and skills formation, infrastructure development (physical capital) and incorporation of labour into saving have an explicit objective of enhancing the productive capacities of individuals, households and communities (Prasad *et al.* 2013; Adesina 2006, 2007, 2009; UNRISD 2010; Mkandawire 2006). Similarly, in-kind transfer of productive resources and assets to households, such as land and agrarian reforms qualify to be categorised as productive capacity enhancing public interventions with the potential to enhance the productive capacities of citizens and/or households. Consequently, the study conceptualises the FTLRP——a government programme that redistributed arable land to

households——as a social policy instrument aimed at enhancing the productive capacities of households and their members (Tekwa and Adesina 2018: 50). The key question to answer relates to the extent to which access to land enhanced the productive capacities and consequently, the welfare of female beneficiary households relative to those headed by males.

5.2 The Redistributive Effect of the FTLRP in Zimbabwe

Empirical evidence indicates that through the FTLRP "the government of Zimbabwe redistributed about 80 percent of former large-scale commercial farms to a broad base of beneficiaries. These included mostly rural peasants across the political divide, politicians, senior government officials, private sector officials, employed and unemployed urbanites, former farm workers and white farmers" (Moyo *et al.* 2009:1). On the other hand, the programme resulted in increased women access to land compared to previous land reform programs (Moyo 2011:504; Hanlon *et al.* 2013:158). At the district level, Chiredzi District alone has a total of 15 510 households who benefitted through the FTLRP composed of 14 877 and 632 A1 and A2 farmers, respectively (Key Informant Interviews Chiredzi District Agricultural Officer 28/10/16). If Marongwe (2004) 71 percent and 29 percent male-headed and female-headed household beneficiaries is anything to go by, this translates to 11 012 and 4 498 male and female A1 land beneficiaries respectively. While literature has confirmed the poor and the landless as possessing few productive resources relying on selling their physical labour for a living (Namara *et al.* 2010: 591). To what extent can redistributive land and agrarian reforms have an effect on enhancing household and individual productive capacities and welfare, particularly for poor rural households.

5.2.1 The FTLRP and Enhanced Household Cultivable Land Size

The literature on gender and social policy indicate that measures to achieve greater economic independence and welfare for women have tended to centre on their participation in the labour market (O'Connor 1993; Orloff 1993). By contrast, in predominantly agrarian societies where land is concerned, women access and control over land is vital for their economic empowerment (Agarwal 1994; Mazhawidza and Manjengwa (2011: 7). Within these societies, size of household cultivable land can be used as a proxy indicator or predictor of current or future household productive capacity and welfare. This is particularly so when land is valued not only for its "political and symbolic significance but also as a productive, wealth-creating and livelihood sustaining asset" (Sinyolo *et al.* 2014: 153; Agarwal 2003).

Lack of access to this important physical productive asset underlies the poverty and nutritional challenges in most developing countries (Burgess 2001: 1). Household cultivable land is one productive asset that can be provided through broad-based land reforms. If distributed equitably, it creates conditions for socio-economic equality, providing previously disadvantaged groups with new opportunities for employment simultaneously addressing resource use inefficiencies and poverty at the farm level and beyond (Matondi 2012: 186). As such, social policies that transfer land to most rural populations, female and male alike, have the potential of enhancing their productive capacities; asset accumulation, and household welfare. However, gender blindness witnessed in the context of welfare states (Sainsbury 1996) would assume that the distribution of land to men will benefit women and children equally. Such gendered assumptions remains relevant to interrogate.

Table 5.1 below shows the household land distribution across the three study sites. As presented in the Table, the FTLRP saw a transfer of land from a statistical mean household cultivable land size of 2.78 ha found in the control group to 16.6 ha and 21.32 ha for A1 farmers and A2 farmers respectively. The 2.78 ha in Muteyo communal lands represents more than a century legacy of colonial land expropriation policies since the late 1800s. This figure corresponds to observations that the continued subdivisions of landholdings within the former 'native reserves,' now the 'communal lands,' due to population increase brought average landholdings to less than 3 ha per household (Moyo and Makumbe 2000; Amanor-Wilks 2009: 19). In their study in Masvingo, Scoones and others found average household land sizes much smaller at 1.5 ha per household (See Scoones, Mavedzenge, Marimbarimba & Sukume 2018: 819). This has had negative implications on viability, productivity and welfare of communal households. Such household land sizes were incomparable to pre-2000 LSCFs which had an average landholding of 2 400 ha; a reflection of the colonial preferential and racially skewed land policies born from the Land Apportionment Act of 1930. The Act reserved 16.8 million ha of the country's most productive areas for the whites (Moyo and Makumbe 2000; Mudzengi 2008: 381) to the exclusion of indigenous people. The literature on land reforms had confirmed gender as one contributing variable to women's lack of access to productive resources including land (Agarwal 1994, 2003; Matondi 2012; Ncube 1997: 3; Jacobs 2000; Chiweshe 2014:3; Gaidzanwa 1981, 1995; Jacobs 2002:890; Hanlon *et al.* 2013:157).

Table 5.1 Gender Disaggregated Landholding by Study Site(s)

LAND SIZE (Ha)	MKWASINE A2 FARMS						MAWARE A1 FARMS						MUTEYO COMMUNAL AREAS					
	Male		Female		Total		Male		Female		Total		Male		Female		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
2 Ha and Below	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	14	77.8	17	77.2	31	77.5
3-5 Ha	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	22.2	5	22.8	9	22.5
6-10 Ha	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	46.7	11	61.1	18	54.5	0	0	0	0	0	0
11-15 Ha	2	16.7	1	5.0	3	9.4	5	33.3	4	22.2	9	27.3	0	0	0	0	0	0
16-20 Ha	5	41.6	9	45.0	14	43.8	0	0.0	1	5.6	1	3.0	0	0	0	0	0	0
21-25 Ha	2	16.7	6	30.0	8	25.0	3	20.0	2	11.1	5	15.2	0	0	0	0	0	0
Above 25 Ha	3	25.0	4	20.0	7	21.9	0	0	0	0.0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	12	100	20	100	32	100	15	100	18	100	33	100	18	100	22	100	40	100
Maximum Land Size Ha	-	-	-	-	43.0	-	-	-	-	-	50.0						5.0	
Minimum Land Size Ha					14.5						7.0						0.5	
Mean Land Size Ha					21.32						16.6						2.78	
Standard Deviation Ha					5.59						14.7						1.12	
Chi-Square P-Value					1.727						1.943						0.01	

Table 5.2 Disaggregated Landholding Across Study Sites by Marital Status

Size of Cultivable Land	MKWASINE A2 FARMS						MAWARE A1 FARMS						MUTEYO COMMUNAL AREAS					
	MCL	MCU	PLG	DSS	WD	Total	MCL	MCU	PLG	DSS	WD	Total	MCL	MCU	PLG	DSS	WD	Total
2 Ha and Below	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	5	3	4	16	31
3-5 Ha	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	2	1	3	9
6-10 Ha	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	4	6	2	4	18	0	0	0	0	0	0
11-15 Ha	2	0	0	0	1	3	0	3	4	0	2	9	0	0	0	0	0	0
16-20 Ha	5	2	1	0	6	14	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
21-25 Ha	1	1	1	0	5	8	0	0	3	0	2	5	0	0	0	0	0	0
Above 25 Ha	2	1	1	0	3	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Totals	10	4	3	0	15	32	2	7	13	2	9	33	3	8	5	5	19	40
Percentage	31.1	12.5	9.4	0	46.9	100	6.1	21.2	39.4	6.1	27.3	100	7.5	20.0	12.5	12.5	47.5	100
Chi-Square P-Value						0.373						0.708						0.01

Key MCL- monogamous civil marriage; MCU- monogamous customary marriage; PLG- polygamous marriage; DSS- divorced, single, separated; WD- widow

5.2.1.1 Bivariate Analysis Gender and Household Cultivable Land Size

As shown in Table 5.1 above, a Chi-square exact test of significance at p-value of.01 within the control group indicate a strong association between land size and gender within these predominantly customary areas. Extending the analysis to look at sub-categories of women, as shown in Table 5.2, widows constitute 51.6 percent of households with a mean household cultivable land size of 2 ha or below with a Chi-square exact test of significance at p-value of.01. This indicates a significant association between marital status and household cultivable land size within the communal study area. Widows' overrepresentation within those with less than 2 ha of land in the communal areas reflects an intersection of the gender of household head and marital status in land ownership. Relatedly, a similar study in Uganda revealed that FHHs were less likely to report cultivable land, the most important productive physical asset to most Ugandans, as one of their assets (Appleton 1996: 1816).

In the resettled areas under study, the hypothesis linking gender of plot holder to household cultivable land is rejected with Chi-square exact test of significance at p-values at 1.94 and 1.72 for A1 and A2 farming areas respectively. If a household cultivable land size is regarded as a proxy or predictor of enhanced household productive capacity and welfare, then FHHs[1] in the control group are most likely to have the least productive capacity and economic welfare in relation to their male counterparts. Widow-headed households would have a significantly lower productive capacity and economic welfare within the FHHs. This association reflects a complex interplay of social, political and historical factors which have shaped gender relations within these areas for over a century. In the resettlement areas studied here, all women both single and married confirmed that as a result of the land reform programme access to land greatly improved.

Below are some of the insider perspective of the FTLRP from in-depth interviews with female land beneficiaries:

> *"In the communal areas, we had only 0.5 ha of land mainly because in my husband's family there were many male children and the land was not adequate. But when we came here, we got large pieces of land. The land we had in the communal areas was not adequate to grow enough food for the family (In-depth interview A1 women land beneficiary. Date: 13 April 2016)*

[1] Assuming gender of plot holder translates to household headship, even though this has not been true in all case in this study.

> *In the communal areas, people of your age (referring to the researcher) were called 'vana harina munda' (the landless). You could have 3 children of your own without your father allocating you a piece of land because there were no land and people ended settling in hills and near rivers (In-depth interview Widowed A1 Land Beneficiary Date 26 April 2016).*

Women's increased access to land within and outside marriage following land resettlement in Zimbabwe——one key finding of this research—has been confirmed in several other studies (Goebel 2005: 72, 140; Jacobs 1983; Chiweshe *et al.* 2014; Chingarande *et al.* 2012; Mutopo 2011; Mazhawidza and Manjengwa 2011). The comments above by FTLRP beneficiaries make inferences not only to land scarcity in the communal areas but also the positive impacts of being beneficiaries of the land reform exercise. Changes in their lives are captured by visible new land 'ownership'[2] contrasted to their former situation in the communal areas. Their comments also indicate land as a productive asset which allows households to produce food, keep livestock, therefore with potential of enhancing their individual and household welfare.

5.3 Water Reforms and Access to Irrigation by A1 and A2 farmers in Chiredzi

The shift from water rights to a water permit system in 2000 abolished the priority system of first come first serve water allocation. Broadly, the repeal saw the decentralisation and democratisation of water resources in the Zimbabwe in which water rights were replaced with water permits system. These reforms were well captured and summarised in an interview with the Chiredzi sub-Catchment Field Officer:

> *The permit system was a new system improvised by the government to fit in the 'new farmer'. The newly resettled farmers were not in these water allocations. The water right system counted the number of farmers per given area and then shared all the water available among themselves. It made the water permanently belong to the concerned farmers. It was not possible for the new farmers to access the available water had the government not changed the existing water policy (Key Informant Interview Chiredzi sub-Catchment Field Officer, dated 21 May 2016).*

In Chiredzi District the water reforms enabled resettled farmers to access water for irrigation from the 40-kilometre water canal (see Plate 5.1 below) which supplied water to the former Mkwasine Sugar Estate and its out-grower schemes. Access to irrigation water by had

[2] While land is held under permissory tenure under the A1 and leasehold under the A2, according to the land beneficiaries themselves they 'own' the land. It is theirs.

transformed the region along this canal into a greenbelt with numerous positives outcomes for smallholder farmers and surrounding communal areas in terms of food, employment, livestock feed, among others.

Plate 5.1 The 40-kilometre Manjirenji-Mkwasine Water Canal

Source: Field Observations (2016)

Prior to the democratisation of water, this productive resource benefitted ten white commercial sugarcane out-growers, 68 black old resettlement small-scale sugarcane growers and the main Mkwasine Estate on 1350ha, 1970 ha and 4880 ha, respectively. With the redistributive fast track land reform and the accompanying water reforms, a total 499 water permit users comprising 431 A2 Sugarcane growers and 68 black small-scale sugarcane growers of the Chipiwa old resettlement scheme have access to irrigation. This is over and above thousands of A1 farmers located along the 40-kilometre canal now accessing water for irrigation through the new permit system (Key Informant Interview Chiredzi sub-Catchment Field Officer, dated 21 May 2016).

5.3.1 Water Reforms, Gender and Enhanced Productive Capacities

The water reforms of the 2000s saw the expansion of the productive capacity of the available water to incorporate marginalised groups, including women, thus affecting water ownership, accessibility and transforming existing inequalities in access to water. This is reflected in Table 5.3 below, showing irrigated land by household across the study sites. The sum of cultivated land in the control group was trebled and grew seven-fold from 89.7 ha to 221.5 and 672.0 ha in A1 and A2 farming areas, respectively.

Table 5.3 Area Under Irrigation by Gender of Plot Holder 2015/16 Season

	MKWASINE A2 FARMS						MAWARE A1 FARMS						MUTEYO COMMUNAL AREAS					
	Male		Female		Total		Male		Female		Total		Male		Female		Total	
LAND SIZE (Ha)	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
None	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	18	100	22	100	40	100
1 Ha and Below	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	6.7	0	0.0	1	3.0	0	0	0	0	0	0
2 Ha	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	26.6	4	22.2	8	24.2	0	0	0	0	0	0
3-5 Ha	0	0	0	0	0	0	9	60.0	10	55.6	19	57.6	0	0	0	0	0	0
Above 5 Ha	12	100	20	100	32	100	1	6.7	4	22.2	5	15.2	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	12	37.5	20	62.5	32	100	15	45.5	18	100	33	100	18	45.0	22	55.0	40	100
Mx Cultvated/ Irrigated	43.0	28.1	43.0	43.0	43.0	43.0	10.0	10.0	13.0	7.0	13.0	10.0	5.0	0.0	3.7	0.0	5.0	0.0
Min Cultvated/Irrigated	10.0	14.5	10.0	14.5	14.5	10.0	3.0	0.5	2.0	1.5	2.0	0.5	1.0	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.5	0.0
Sum Cultvted/Irrigated	236.8	305.1	391.1	367.3	672.0	672.0	104.0	70.7	117.5	55.8	221.5	126.5	43.2	0.0	44.7	0.0	89.7	0.0
Av. Cultivatd/Irrigated	20.3	19.7	21.6	19.6	21.3	19.6	6.9	3.5	6.5	4.3	6.27	3.83	2.4	0.0	2.0	0.0	2.19	0.0
Standard Deviation	5.4	4.27	6.9	6.21	5.59	6.24	1.9	2.0	2.4	1.94	2.18	1.98	1.1	0.0	0.86	0.0	0.98	0.0

Table 5.4 Percentage Access to and Area under Irrigation by Marital Status 2015/16 Season

	Mkwasine A2 Farmers						Maware A1 Farmers						Muteyo Communal Areas					
Land Size	MCL	MCU	PLG	DSS	**WD**	Total	MCL	MCU	PLG	DSS	**WD**	Total	MCL	MCU	PLG	DSS	**WD**	Total
None	0	0	0	0	**0**	0	0	0	0	0	**0**	0	7.5	20.0	12.5	12.5	**47.5**	100
1 ha and Below	0	0	0	0	**0**	0	0.0	3.0	0.0	0.0	**0.0**	3.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	**0.0**	0.0
2 Hectares	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	**0.0**	0.0	3.0	0.0	9.1	3.0	**9.1**	24.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	**0.0**	0.0
3-5 Hectares	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	**0.0**	0.0	3.0	15.2	27.3	3.0	**9.1**	57.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	**0.0**	0.0
Above 5 Hectares	31.3	12.5	9.4	0	**46.9**	100	0.0	3.0	3.0	0.0	**9.1**	15.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	**0.0**	0.0
Total	31.1	12.5	9.4	0.0	**46.9**	100	6.1	21.2	39.4	6.1	**27.3**	100	7.5	20.0	12.5	12.5	**47.5**	100

Key MCL- monogamous civil marriage; MCU- monogamous customary marriage; PLG- polygamous marriage; DSS- divorced, single, separated; WD- widow

A similar effect is seen in the difference in mean cultivated land between the control group and the A1 and A2 farming areas which expanded from 2.19 ha to 6.27 ha and 19.6 ha, respectively. Exclusively focusing on the A1 small-scale farmers and the control group highlights the effect and critical importance of access to water for irrigation on cultivated household land size, particularly to households located in dry regions like Chiredzi district. The difference in the mean cultivated land between the control group and the small-scale A1 farmers point to increased productive use of land in the resettled areas. Over 50 percent of cultivated land under A1 farms is under irrigation contrasted to zero percent in the control group. In a similar study in KwaZulu Natal, South Africa focusing on the linkages between smallholder irrigation and household welfare, Sinyolo *et al.* (2014) found irrigators cultivating larger pieces of land compared to non-irrigators (2014: 145).

A gender analysis contrasting the position of women in resettlement areas and men who remained in the communal areas reveal the combined effect of FTLRP and the accompanying water reforms. Female plot holders in resettlement areas have an average of 4.3 ha of land under irrigation twice as large the average size of land cultivated by male plot holders in the control group cultivating a mean of 2.4 ha slightly above their female counterparts by 0.4 of a hectare (see Table 5.3 below). In the A1 farming area, female plot holders had put more land under irrigation relative to their male counterparts with 4.3 ha compared to 3.5 ha for men. A slight difference exists in the average cultivated land, between the two with male plot holders cultivating only 0.4 ha more than their female counterparts at 6.5 ha. Looking at sub-categories of women, particularly widows, 59.9 percent of households with above 5 ha of household arable land under irrigation in the A1 study area are headed by widows. All households in the A2 all households including widow-headed have above 5 ha of their land under irrigation, see Table 5.4 above showing the distribution of irrigated land by marital status. Contrastingly none of this group, just as the rest in the control group, have access to irrigation making their wellbeing more precarious considering that farming is their main source of livelihood.

These statistics, particularly with reference to the study sites, indicate the extent to which land and water reforms can transform not only racial but also gender inequalities in access to productive resources contributing to enhanced productive capacities of all citizens inclusive of gender. It is indisputable that such public interventions aimed at transforming racial and gender inequalities have potential to increase not only the productive use of land but also the welfare of all citizens, including the majority indigenous women who tend to suffer from a

gender disadvantage (Appleton 1996). In this era of climate change, it is critical to assess the potential effect of water reforms on not only farming in general but specifically smallholder farmers who have been historically marginalised from access to this productive resource by discriminatory colonial water policies (GoZ 1981).

5.3.2 Water Reforms, Droughts and Crop Losses

Apart from increasing the amount of land under productive use, the most immediate effect of the water reforms enabling access to water for irrigation by smallholder resettled farmers was a decline in crop losses due to droughts. Research had found that within Southern Africa rainfall variability and water shocks not only affect agricultural growth but have negative knock-on effects on overall economic growth (World Bank 2007, 2008). Mano and Nhemachena (2007), in Table 5.5 below, simulated the extent to which climatic variables (temperature and precipitation) would affect productivity and net farm incomes on irrigated and non-irrigated farms. The table indicates that an increase in temperature or decline in rainfall affects the net farm revenue significantly on dryland farms relative to irrigated farms, highlighting the importance of access to irrigation, particularly so in the era of climate change.

Table 5.5 Forecast Impact of Climate Change on Net Farm Revenue

Climate Change Scenario	All Farms	Dryland Farms	Irrigated Farms
Increase in Temp of 2.5%	-31	-17	3
Increase in Temp of 5.0%	-36	-21	-1
Reduction in Rainfall by 7%	-27	-16	-2
Reduction in Rainfall by 14%	-28	-22	-2

Source Mano and Nhemachena (2007).

The forecast above has been extrapolated, though at a localised scale, in Table 5.6 below, which shows the effect of drought and estimated crop losses in the study areas for the 2015/16 season.

Table 5.6 Drought and Crop Losses by Study Area(s) 2015/16 Season

Farming Area	% Affected by Drought		Estimated Crop Losses in Tonnes (000)						
	Yes	No	0.0	< 0.5	0.6-1.0	1.1-2.0	>2.0	No Crop	Total
A2 Farms	0	100	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
A1 Farms	21.2	78.8	81.8	0.0	0.0	15.2	3.0	0.0	100
Communal Areas	95.0	5.0	2.5	22.5	40.0	12.5	12.5	10.0	100

As shown in the table, the effect of climate change for the 2015/16 season is more pronounced in the control group where 95 percent of the smallholder farmers reported that they were affected by drought. Contrastingly, a meagre 21.2 percent of smallholder farmers in the A1 farming areas and none in the A2 farming areas reported having been affected by drought in the same season. Due to the effect of drought in the 2015/16 season, estimated crop losses are higher in the control group relative to the A1 farming areas. Only 18 percent of smallholder farmers in the latter reported crop losses of half a tonne of maize and above compared to 65 percent of smallholder farmers in the control group. This has dire implications on household welfare, particularly household food security, as shall be discussed in Chapter Seven. High crop losses in the control group reflect the high vulnerability of communal farmers to climate change exacerbated by the fact that Chiredzi is drought-prone. The districts experience very high temperatures and evapotranspiration with a knock-on effect on household marketable surplus and incomes. The undeniable huge benefits accruing from access to water for irrigation were unanimously confirmed by all resettled farmers in both A1 and A2 farming areas. Below are some insider perspectives on access to water for irrigation, dryland farming, effects of droughts and enhanced productive capacities:

> *Access to water greatly enhances productive capacities as compared to dryland farming where a farmer had to rely on natural rainfall. Even in periods of drought when water is rationed one cannot be compared to a farmer on dry land (In-depth Interview Female A2 Sugarcane Farmer Date 03 September 2016)*

> *In the communal areas, we harvested only once, but here with access to irrigation, we grow crops throughout the year. Each harvest at least we can manage to buy something (In-depth interview Polygamous Married Female A1 Farmer 05 May 2016).*

> *...we do not stop growing crops in the year. At any given time, l would be having different crops at various stages of growth. We always have fresh produce because of the availability of water (In-depth Interview Widowed Female A1 Farmer 09 May 2016)*

These land beneficiary perspectives from the in-depth interviews confirm findings from the quantitative study on the access to irrigation, droughts and crop losses. Access to water for irrigation had insulated the farmers from climate variability, increased cropping intensity, and marketable household surplus. This is evident in resettled farmers' reflections on their before-

and-after situation and comparisons to other farmers practising dryland farming. Enhanced access to bigger pieces of land coupled with access to water for irrigation had enabled previously economically marginalised groups to participate in the economy, thus contributing to the national economic development.

5.3.3 Land and Water Reforms and Smallholder Participation in the Economy

Transforming the economy to allow participation of previously marginalised indigenous people has been one policy of government since independence (Sibanda and Makwata 2017; Zhou and Masunungure 2006). Apart from expansion of areas under cultivation and protection from crop losses, access to water for irrigation encourages the utilisation of yield-enhancing inputs allowing diversification into high-value crop production and participation in the national economy (Namara *et al.* 2010; Hussain and Wijerathna, 2004 quoted in Sinyolo *et al.* 2014). The two resettled study sites provides an interesting mechanism by which social policy is a capability-enhancing instrument through the transformation of the local and national economy. Formerly marginalised groups, including women, now participate in high-value commodity production chains that are well integrated into the global economy with the potential to enhance not only their household incomes but also individual and household welfare. Empirical evidence from the study areas includes the established sugarcane estate-out-grower schemes for A2 smallholder farmers and chilli production under contract farming by A1 smallholder farmers.

5.3.3.1 The Sugar Estate-Out-Grower Model for A2 Land Reform Beneficiaries

One of the redistributive outcomes of the FTLRP in Masvingo, particularly in Chiredzi District, has been the expansion of out-grower areas linked to commercial large-scale sugar estates of the low-veld, Tongaat Hulletts Zimbabwe. The company, a large South African-owned sugar conglomerate, controls the largest percentage of shares in the Zimbabwean sugar industry. Its business, in Zimbabwe alone, is worth several million dollars (Scoones, Mavedzenge and Murimbarimba 2016: 1). According to the company's website, the FTLRP made a net "transfer of nearly 16,000 ha to over 800 resettlement farmers on irrigated 'A2' plots of around 20 ha each" (http://www.tongaat.co.za). Mkwasine A2 sugarcane farming area—the former Mkwasine Sugar Estate—was wholly acquired by the government and distributed to small-scale growers on average plots of 20 ha. This represents the largest block of FTLRP farms in sugar production. It accounts for over 50 percent of the resettled A2

sugarcane farmers in the district with a total of 431 A2 sugarcane farmers. Out of this total, 24.4 percent are women beneficiaries *(Key Informant Interview Field Extension Officer Tongaat Hulletts Zimbabwe, 24 September 2016)*.

The outcome of this state intervention is well captured by Scoones and his team.

> *The Zimbabwe case, therefore, offers interesting insights into the estate–out-grower relations, as it emerged from a land reform, and a brokered deal between the state and a large-scale external investment. It demonstrates how negotiations with capital are not straightforward, and land reform dynamics influence the logics and imperatives of accumulation, both by large-scale capital and the land reform beneficiaries. For the new farmers, the land redistribution to these new out-growers resulted in the gaining of access to high-value irrigated land, associated infrastructure and resident labour (Scoones et al. 2016:2).*

The 'plugging' onto globally integrated high-value commodity chains of the new out-growers has had robust outcomes not mentioned in much of the analyses of the latest land reform programme in Zimbabwe. With "excellent topography, climate and established water storage and conveyance infrastructures for irrigation", Scoones and other argued, the resettled farmers now account for 25 percent of the sugar production supplied to Triangle and Hippo Valley mills (Scoones *et al.* 2016:2). The business remains optimistic as "sugar production in Zimbabwe in the 2012/2013 financial year increased by 28 percent to 475 000 tons, as cane deliveries from private and third-party farmers grew substantially" (http://www.tongaat.co.za). The socio-economic outcomes of this intervention on ordinary indigenous citizens who got access to high-value irrigated land in the sugarcane growing area are irrefutable. In addition to their government-facilitated participation in the national economy, access to land and irrigation water had enhanced the productive capacities of once marginalised groups, including women with positive outcomes in terms of individual and household welfare as shall be demonstrated.

5.3.3.2 Chilli Production Under Contract Farming in A1 Farming Areas

The climatic conditions of Chiredzi characterised by hot temperatures provide not only optimum conditions for the cultivation of sugarcane but also African bird-eye chilli variety. With many smallholder farmers accessing land, some with access to irrigation, this had ushered golden opportunities as they are now being contracted in chillies production——a crop once unknown to smallholder but large-scale commercial farmers alone. The availability of land and cheap gravitational water for irrigation in the A1 study area has attracted agro-

companies "providing links between growers and the global market, as well as offering support through technical services" (Endeavor Magazine 2016). Such "access to free and transparent markets is vital to many farmers in the developing world, and yet these markets are not easy for the average individual farmer to link with" (Endeavour Magazine 2016).

One of the companies found operating in the A1 study site was Better Agriculture (BA), a Zimbabwean-owned agricultural consultancy company. In 2016 the total national number of small-scale chilli production registered with BA increased to 1,300 distributed across eight locations in the country. Ward 20 Maware A1 farming as one of the eight sites, had a total of 167 farmers with a sum of 35 ha under contract chilli production *(Key Informant Interview Better Agriculture Field Officer, 28 May 2016*). Apart from supplying the domestic market, the chillies are exported to regional and international markets including South Africa, Europe and North America. Regionally, the chilli is supplied to the international restaurant chain Nando's (South Africa) which uses the output for the manufacture of its iconic sauce. Through the model, small-scale farmers receive inputs on credit, including technical assistance. This is in addition to a "guaranteed off-take price for all grades" of chillies (Endeavour Magazine 2016 www.endeavourmagazine.com). Consequently, substantial benefits are flowing to the land beneficiaries, as indicated in one key informant interview:

> *For grade A chilli, the price is $0.70 per kilogram of fresh chilli. We also purchase grade B chilli just to support the farmers. They dry it on their own, and we purchase it as dry chilli at $2 per kilogram (Key Informant Interview Better Agriculture Field Extension Officer 02 April 2016).*

The model demonstrates small-scale farmers' capacity to meet international quality standards. Chillies are a perennial crop harvested throughout the year, thus provides a continuous stream of household incomes for both female and male-headed households. The A 1 contract chilli production exemplify a mechanism/model through which small-scale producers can be linked to lucrative regional and international markets. All contracted smallholder farmers in the study site, including female heads of households, now operate bank accounts where their revenues are deposited on a monthly basis. These household revenues had enhanced household welfare for both male and female land beneficiaries transforming their lives compared to their situation prior to accessing land through the FTLRP.

5.4 Access to Agricultural Support Services and Enhancement of Productive Capacities

Support services to farmers come in the form of access to training and extension services, inputs, credit, infrastructures such as roads and railway lines and markets are critical in enhancing the productive capacities of farmers. These services can be provided through a combination of both public and private service providers, though the latter might require some form of regulation by the government.

5.4.1 Agricultural Extension and Training

The welfare production regimes (Iversen and Stephens 2008) literature highlights inextricable links between human capital formation and social policy. Within the agricultural sector, agricultural extension services are part of the "skill formation and training regimes—an ensemble of institutions and specialised actors engaged in the organisation and provision of education and training" (Zivkovic, Jelic and Rajic 2009: 3). Agricultural extension is an "important agrarian-political instrument of the state which can be used to stimulates the development of agricultural production" (Buechtemann and Verdier 1998 quoted in Mkandawire 2007: 150). Its objective is improving the adoption of better farming technologies and methods by farmers to boost agricultural production. All farmers both in control and resettled areas indicated access to publicly provided extension services through the Department of Agriculture, Technical and Extension Services (Agritex) as indicated during key informant interviews;

> *When people got land, there was a need for more Agricultural extension workers and the government trained more Agricultural extension workers to cater for the newly resettled areas. In Chiredzi we have 100 Agricultural Extension workers out of 32 rural wards. The objective of the government was to have at least three Agricultural extension workers per ward. At the district level, we coordinate with Extension officers on the ground and support them with materials and information to share with farmers (Key Informant Interview District Agricultural Extension Officer 28 October 2016).*

In addition, resettled farmers have access to publicly provided technical services through the Department of Irrigation, with a resident Irrigation Officer in all wards with irrigation facilities. Table 5.7 present information on access to public and private agricultural extension services across the study sites.

Table 5.7 Access to Support Services by Gender of Plot Holder Across Study Site(s)

Farmer Support Services		Mkwasine A2 Farms						Maware A1 Farms						Muteyo Communal Lands					
		Male		Female		Total		Male		Female		Total		Male		Female		Total	
		No	%	No	%	NO	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Field Crop Market	Yes	12	100	20	100	32	100.0	15	100	18	100	33	100.0	1	5.6	1	4.5	2	5.0
	No	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	17	94.4	21	95.5	38	95.5
Extension Services	Public	12	100	20	100	32	100.0	15	100	18	100	33	100.0	18	100	22	100	40	100.0
	Private	12	100	20	100	32	100.0	11	73.3	13	72.2	24	72.7	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Inputs on Credit	Yes	7	58.3	14	70.0	21	65.6	11	66.7	13	72.2	24	72.7	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	No	5	41.7	6	30.0	11	34.4	4	33.3	5	27.8	9	27.3	18	100	22	100	40	100
Bank Loans	Yes	8	66.7	9	45.0	17	53.1	0	0.0	2	11.1	2	6.1	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	No	4	33.3	11	55.0	15	46.9	15	45.5	16	88.9	31	93.9	18	100	22	100	40	100.0

Source: Field Notes (2016)

Table 5.8 A2 Sources of Agricultural Finance

	Government Scheme	Private Capital	Commercial Banks	Co-operatives	Total
Source of Finance %	5.9	11.8	76.5	5.9	100

Source: Field Notes (2016)

Table 5.9 Sources of Agricultural Credit by Gender of Plot Holder

		Government Scheme	Private Companies	Commercial Banks	Co-operatives	Total
Mkwasine A2 Farmers	Male	5.9	0.0	35.3	5.9	47.1
	Female	0.0	11.8	41.2	0.0	52.9
Maware A1 Farmers	Male	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
	Female	0.0	3.1	3.1	0.0	6.2
Muteyo Communal Farmers	Male	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
	Female	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0

Source: Field Notes (2016)

Resettlement farmers have access to both publicly and privately provided extension and technical agricultural services, unlike farmers in the control areas. As depicted in the table, all farmers in the A2 farming areas have access to privately provided extension services with 72.7 percent in the A1 areas. A gender analysis in the A1 areas reveals that 72.2 percent of female smallholder households had access to privately provided extension services relative to 73.3 percent MHHs. This is in sharp contrast to the absence of private extension within the control group. Among the skills imparted to smallholder farmers with particular reference to chilli production relates to seedling transplantation, fertiliser application, weed and pest control, harvesting and drying of chilli among many others.

In the case of A2 sugarcane farmers, even though the Estate no longer has sugarcane fields in Mkwasine, it had maintained its presence through its three departments critical to cane production, namely the irrigation department (responsible for managing irrigation water), the accounts department (handles farmer's accounts), and the field extension and technical training department (responsible for farmer training). The key informant interview by the estate field extension officer highlighted the highly significant work the estate is doing in the provision of training and extension services critical in building the capacity of resettled sugarcane farmers.

> *The estate is assisting farmers with extension advice from land preparation to harvesting. We conduct field training, workshops and seminars educating farmers on the production of cane. Recently, since it's harvesting time, we trained the farmers on putting sugarcane on dry-off in preparation for harvesting, the importance of drying-off cane, when to do dry-off and how long depending on soil types; proper cane cutting, the level of cutting; arranging cane in a bundle for easy haulage and the standard size of a cane bundle. A sugarcane farmer must know all these. So, we schedule our training according to these stages. After this, we get into training on fertiliser application and so on (Key Informant Interview Field Extension Officer Tongaat Hulletts Zimbabwe 24 September 2016).*

Sugarcane is a highly specialised crop, which most resettled farmers had no prior cultivation experience. This highlight the critical significance of training and extension services to resettled sugarcane farmers. Such concerted efforts had assisted resettled farmers to quickly acquire the knowledge and skills necessary for the cultivation of this specialised crop, thus

enhancing their productive capacities as they contributed to a quarter of cane deliveries to the two sugarcane mills in Chiredzi (Scoones *et al.* 2016: 2).

Apart for the Estate providing training and technical assistance to A2 sugarcane growers, the Zimbabwe Sugarcane Association (ZSA) Experimental Station, a fully private organisation, also provide research and training for the sugar industry. The initial establishment of the experimental station resembles 'industry-based-coordination' found in coordinated market economies of production regimes (Halls and Soskice 2001a; Lee 2014:93). The station is entirely funded through an industry levy levied to all sugarcane players both commercial and smallholder farmers. ZSA represents an education and training institution capable of providing industry-specific skills to farmers through its research activities. The station conducts research on aspects relating to cane production under irrigation, cane varieties with valuable resistance to major pest and diseases, pest control, soil fertility and testing, water use and efficiency among others. It also provides extension, analytical, and advisory services to its members on fertilisers, seed, chemicals, pests and diseases control.

Below are some of the insider perspectives.

> *We attend courses at ZSA on sugarcane farming such as fertiliser application, weed control, use of herbicides, and so on. Since we began, we had gained knowledge. When we started, we had no knowledge. These trainings are proving to be helpful. We see a positive change in production since we started as we gain more knowledge. So, training is crucial. Courses are free of charge. Some are one-day courses. Some are 3-day courses, so we attend coming from home (In-depth Interview Female A2 Female Sugarcane Farmer 14 September 2016).*

As indicated in the interviews, female farmers are also accessing training and technical services, thus enhancing their productive capacities in relation to male-headed households. In addition, farmer associations, such as the Mkwasine Sugarcane Commercial Farmers Association are also providing extension support to sugarcane farmers as indicated in a key informant interview of one female executive member of Mkwasine Sugarcane Farmers Association conducted on 28 September 2016. All these efforts enhance the productive capacities of farmers. Contrasting with the control group where much of the training and technical services are absent and not as effective, evidently, there will be a marked difference in terms of productive capacities between these groups of farmers.

5.4.2 Access to Inputs on Credit

Access to land, as noted by (Moyo and Yeros 2005) is a key dimension of agrarian reform, but not a sufficient condition for enhancement of productive capacities of individuals and communities for national development. As government inputs schemes are insufficient to cater for all the farmers in communal and resettled areas, there exist factors affecting farmers' access to yield-enhancing inputs include affordability, accessibility, due to poor distribution infrastructure and high transport costs. All these constraints limit farmers' agricultural productivity (Phillip, Nkonya, Pender and Oni 2009). More so, female farmers suffer a gender disadvantage in terms of access to farm inputs (Agarwal 1994). Interventions to enhance farmers' access to yield-enhancing inputs with high prospects of enhancing farmers' productive capacities and welfare must always incorporate a gender dimension.

Table 5.8 and 5.9 above, showing access to agricultural finance and credit, indicate that access to land has opened opportunities for access to inputs on credit by resettled farmers. Within the A2 and A1 farming areas, 65.6 percent and 72.2 percent of farmers reported accessing inputs on credit, respectively. A gendered analysis reveals that 72.2 percent of female plot holders in the A1 had accessed inputs on credit. The figure is pegged at and 70 percent in the A2 study area. This contrasts starkly with the situation in the control group where none of the participants indicated access to inputs on credit. If access to inputs on credit can be used as a proxy indicator/predictor of household productive capacity and welfare, resettled farmers will fare much better compared to communal area households. Below are some of the perspectives from the farmers in terms of access to inputs on credit:

> *We are accessing inputs such as fertilisers, seed and pesticides on credit through contract farming for growing chilli from the company (In-depth Interview Married Female A1 Female Farmer 10 May 2016).*
>
> *They provide seed, fertilisers and herbicides on credit to farmers. They also provide technical support. They will deduct the cost of their inputs when a farmer makes deliveries of the crop for sale (In-depth Interview Married Female A1 Farmer 14 May 2016).*
>
> *The estate provides us with inputs on a 30-day account before accruing interests. The interests are high, especially the last fertilisers which you get from the estate which a farmer will only be able to pay in the next season. The amount a farmer eventually*

pays would have doubled (In-depth Interview Female A2 Sugarcane Farmer 13 September 2016).

Most farmers are accessing inputs on credit from the estate. However, the inputs will be on a 30-day account (Key Informant Interview Agritex Extension Officer Ward 21, 28 September 2016).

In the case of A1 farmers who cultivate several types of crops, access to inputs on credit is available only to chilli farmers who are contracted to grow the crop. However, the mechanism can be extended to other crops, particularly now when the state support is constrained. This indicates the urgent need for innovations in agricultural finance in the country (Scoones 2017).

A key informant interview with the Agritex officer in Mkwasine and the farmers' sentiments above suggest that the majority of A2 sugarcane farmers are dissatisfied with high-interest rates on inputs such as fertilisers and herbicides charged by the Estate. The latter admitted that the input charges were above market rate and needed to be reviewed. Similar sentiments are found in a paper exploring the patterns of production, employment and wider livelihood contexts of out-growers and their workers in the Hippo Valley area (see Scoones *et al.* 2016:14). As such, the high cost of privately provided input credit schemes to resettled, particularly sugarcane farmers through the 30-day account remain a challenge to farmers in view of the financial constraints facing the government.

5.4.3 Access to Bank Loans

The socio-economic impact of agricultural credit on the lives of farmers and agricultural productivity in general and its centrality in the arena of public policies of developing economies is acknowledged in the literature (Phillip *et al.* 2009; Nepal Rastra Bank 2014). Farmers' easy access to credit helps "intensify the use of improved seeds, fertiliser and mechanised techniques of farming" (Bashir *et al.,* 2010 quoted in Nepal Rastra Bank 2014). Yet in much of sub-Saharan Africa informal moneylenders, outside the purview of the state, account for the largest percent of finance to agriculture (Ayegba and Ikani 2013). Studies have confirmed co-operatives, friends, and family members as constituting the largest suppliers of farm credit in Nigeria (Ayegba and Ikani 2013; Phillips *et al.* 2009). Peter Halls

and David Soskice explaining the political differences in economic and political institutions across countries posit that the conditions on which finance is made available to firms (in this case to farmers) depend on the monitoring capacities of the regulatory agencies in the economy. In liberal economies where investors (banks) "have little access to inside information about the progress of firms (farmers), they found access to capital likely to depend highly on public criteria about the assets of a firm as commonly reflected on balance sheets". In this case, collateral security becomes pertinent. Where investors (in this case the banks) are linked to the firm (farmers) through a network allowing "extensive access to information about the internal operations of the firms (farmers), investors will be willing to supply capital to firms (farmers) on terms that do not depend entirely on their balance sheets or requesting security. As such, the authors argue that the presence of institutions providing network reputation and monitoring have a substantial effect on the terms on which firms can access finance" (2001:10-17).

The analogue above by Halls and Soskice (2001a) illuminates on the terms on which agricultural loans have been extended to sugarcane farmers in one of the study sites, a development that cannot be applied to the FTLRP in general but the specifics of Chiredzi alone. In 2011 "Tongaat Hulletts embarked on a comprehensive private farmer rehabilitation programme named Successful Rural Sugarcane Farming Community Project (SusCo)" with the goal of rehabilitating private (resettled) farmers to increase their supply of sugarcane to the mills. The "direct beneficiaries of the project included some 872 sugar cane farmers from the Hippo Valley, Triangle and Mkwasine Milling Group areas. It was a partnering between governments, private funding institutions represented by Bank ABC, Tongaat Hulletts, the EU and rural communities providing funding through an establishment of a 4-year revolving US$20 million financing scheme for the (resettled) sugar cane farmers. The revenues arising from the growth in farmer sugar cane production were expected to increase from US$29 million to US$86 million" (http://www.huletts.co.za) through this noble intervention into cane production. Elaborating more on the SusCo project, agricultural extension officers working with sugarcane farmers in the areas had this to say during key informant interviews:

> *In 2011/2012 seasons the Estate brokered a programme for farmers' support with Bank ABC. The programme was called SusCo and did not require any collateral security because they knew they could get back their money from the farmers through the Estate, which manages all sugarcane financial accounts (Key Informant Interview Agritex Extension Officer Ward 21, 28 September 2016).*

> *Through the SusCo intervention, the estate did land preparation and planting of new cane for (resettled) farmers. When the cane began shooting, the farmers took over while the Estate continued assisting with technical advice (Key Informant Interview Field Extension Officer Tongaat Hulletts Zimbabwe, 24 September 2016).*

As part of the requirements to access the loans resettled sugarcane farmers were expected to open an account with Bank ABC through which the loan was to be secured. It was designed as an agricultural service credit loan, as indicated by the Tongaat Field Officer, in which a farmer would request for services, which were provided by private service providers and paid through the bank. With the Estate having retained administrative management of all farmers' financial accounts, it had all the necessary farmer information such that the need for collateral security was nullified (Halls and Soskice 2001a). Since then, A2 sugarcane farmers found it easier to access agricultural loans through the banks as indicated in Table 5.8 in which 76.5 percent of A2 sugarcane farmers indicated access to loans via commercial banks. A gender analysis presented in Table 5.9 reveals that 45 percent of female plot holders accessed agricultural loans through commercial banks relative to 66.7 percent male plot holders.

However, Hall and Soskice theory on production regimes and access to finance may need to be tested in other sectors, as Mazwi and Muchetu (2014) observed: "increased financing for small to middle-scale capitalist farmers not only in the sugar industry but also in other cash crop commodities such as tobacco and cotton". This, the authors argued, invalidates the "commonly held view by freehold advocates that title to land is the only enabler of access to capital and increased farm productivity". Access to credit by these farmers had enhanced their productive capacities and household welfare. Despite repayment challenges some of the sugarcane farmers were facing, their access to bank loans cannot be generalised as it contrasts markedly with other small-scale farmers engaged in the production of crops such as maize as in the case of A1 farmers, see Table 5.7 above. With national agricultural productivity remaining subdued due to lack of access to agricultural credit, more research is yet to be conducted to ascertain the various mechanisms to enable access to finance outside the conventional use of collateral security, particularly freehold title.

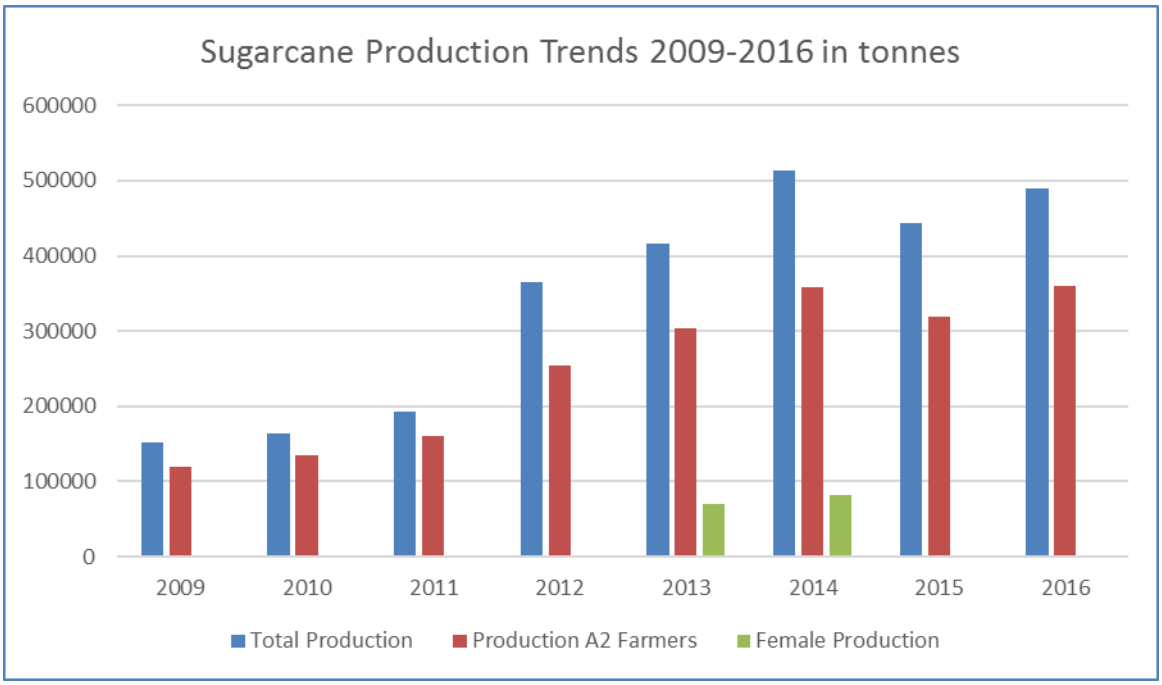
5.5 Production Trends

To provide a glimpse in terms of production, Fig 5.1 below, presents sugarcane production trends exclusively for the Mkwasine area. Statistics beyond 2009 backwards are no longer available, but production output fell due to a myriad of factors (Key Informant Interview

Field Extension Officer Tongaat Hulletts Zimbabwe, 24 September 2016). These were not limited to farmers inheriting old cane, which was about to be ploughed down but also lack of knowledge and skills in cane production by the majority of the farmers. Other factors included high costs of labour, transport and inputs experienced during the hyperinflation period prior to 2009. Some farmers inherited plots where water conveyance system was vandalized, though this was not a common phenomenon in the sugar areas compared to other areas. Besides, relocation of farmers from one plot to another left some fields unattended (In-depth Interview District Agricultural Extension Officer Chiredzi 30 October 2016). Since the year 2009 with the dollarization of the economy production trends were on the rise and was later boosted with the extension of credit to farmers through the SusCo Project in the 2011/12 season.

As shown in Figure 5.1 below, showing cane production over the years, the output of cane doubled between 2011 and 2014 as a result of the SusCo intervention. What this suggests is that access to capital, production inputs and markets are the main production constraining factors of the FTLRP, a similar observation with command agriculture. The slight decline in the 2014/15 seasons is attributed to the drought, which affected the sub-region, which led to rationing of water for irrigation. Despite the drought experienced in the 2015/16 season farmers managed to record an overall 10.68 percent increase in sugarcane production.

Figure 5.1 Sugarcane Production Trends (Mkwasine Area 2009-2016)



Source: Field Notes (2016)

If the current trend is maintained, resettled farmers have the potential to surpass the pre-2000 production levels as indicated in Table 5.10 below, which shows productivity levels of resettled sugarcane farmers across three variables. As shown in the table, in 2014 the sugarcane production by resettled farmers fell short of a mere 25.65 percent to attain the pre-2000 production level suggesting the enhanced productive capacity of resettled sugarcane farmers. However, using the standard indicators of farmer productivity in the sugar industry rated in terms of tonnes of sugarcane per hectare (t/ha cane) and Estimated Recoverable Crystal (ERC), a measurement of the actual sugar content, tonnes per ha (t/ha ERC), the resettled farmers are performing quite well as shown below.

Table 5.10 A2 Sugarcane Farmers and Pre-2000 Sugarcane Productivity Variables

Productivity Variable	Before Year 2000	Post-Year 2000	% Pre-2000 Baseline
Total Cane Production Tonnes	691 300 (standard baseline)	513 952 (2014)	74.35
Tonnes per hectare Cane (t/ha cane)	84	55.63	66.22
ERC tonnes per hectare t/ha ERC	10.481	11.90	+1.419

Source: Field Notes (2016)

Despite the tonnes per hectare cane being two-thirds the pre-2000 levels, ERC tonnes per hectare is for resettled farmers is +1.419 above the pre-2000 level, an indicator of the quality of cane from the latter. In terms of gender, female farmer production trends could only be established for the 2013 and 2014 seasons in which they made a 23.0 percent and 22.74 percent contribution to the total production within the total Mkwasine A2 farmers' cane output, respectively. This indicates that female land beneficiaries are making an equal contribution to total production as their male counterparts since they constitute 24.4 percent of the land beneficiaries in Mkwasine. The FTLRP had greatly enhanced the productive capacities of women despite their gender disadvantage on the onset.

Table 5.11 below shows the extent to which access to land enhanced households' gross incomes from farming for resettled farmers in the 2015/16 season disaggregated by marital status relative to non-land beneficiary households. In the A2 farming areas, all households have annual gross incomes above US$ 15,000, including widow-headed households suggesting household protection from socio-economic vulnerabilities (see Chapter Seven). In the A1 farming areas above 72.8 percent of the households have an annual gross income from farming above USD 1000. Widow-headed households constitute 25 percent of these households.

Table 5.11 Household Income Distribution by Marital Stauts Across Study Site(s)

GROSS INCOMES FARMING		<200	$201-499	$500-999	$1000-2000	$2001-5000	$5001-10000	$10001-15000	Above $15000
MCL	Mkwasine A2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	25.0
	Maware A1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.0	3.0	0.0	0.0
	Muteyo Communal	7.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
MCU	Mkwasine A2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	8.3
	Maware A1	0.0	0.0	3.0	6.1	9.1	0.0	3.0	0.0
	Muteyo Communal	15.0	2.5	2.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
PLG	Mkwasine A2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	8.3
	Maware A1	0.0	0.0	9.1	15.2	6.1	6.1	0.0	3.0
	Muteyo Communal	10.0	0.0	2.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
DSS	Mkwasine A2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Maware A1	0.0	0.0	6.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
	Muteyo Communal	10.0	2.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
WD	Mkwasine A2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	58.3
	Maware A1	3.0	0.0	6.1	9.1	9.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
	Muteyo Communal	37.5	0.0	7.5	0.0	2.5	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total	**Mkwasine A2**	**0.0**	**0.0**	**0.0**	**0.0**	**0.0**	**0.0**	**0.0**	**100**
	Maware A1	**3.0**	**0.0**	**24.2**	**30.3**	**27.3**	**9.1**	**3.0**	**3.0**
	Muteyo Communal	**80.0**	**5.0**	**12.5**	**0.0**	**2.5**	**0.0**	**0.0**	**0.0**

Source: Field Notes (2016)

Key MCL- monogamous civil marriage; MCU- monogamous customary marriage; PLG- polygamous marriage; DSS- divorced, single, separated; WD- widow

It is important to note that the gross incomes for the A1 farmers exclude production for use-value, an aspect dealt at greater detail in Chapter Seven. These statistics indicate enhanced-productive capacities and economic welfare within the resettled areas. This is a sharp contrast to the situation in the control group, characterised by low productive capacities and consequently, severe household economic vulnerability. In the control group, 80 percent of the households have an annual gross income from farming of below USD200. Widow-headed households are over-represented in this category at 46.9 percent. In the case of A1 farmers, their production trends, particularly maize, the staple crop proved difficult to assess as most of them are now into extended petty commodity production in which much of the maize grown is sold as 'green mealies' in Chiredzi, Masvingo and Beitbridge markets. As such, it important to assess farmers' access to markets not only for maize but other crops the farmers are cultivating, and the extent to which it has enhanced household welfare.

5.6 Markets Access and Participation

There is consensus that "smallholder farmers require improved access to agricultural markets to raise their farm productivity and living standards as remote places are poorer, less productive and less integrated within input and output markets" (Chamberlin and Jayne 2011). In much of sub-Saharan Africa, most rural smallholder farmers operate under dismal market access conditions characterised by high costs of inputs, depressed agricultural commodity prices and limited markets. These factors act as disincentives for smallholder adoption of modern technology, thus trapping them in a vicious cycle of poverty (Chamberlin and Jayne 2011). As market participation is directly associated with the generation of a market surplus (Rios *et al.* 2009), public intervention to affect access to productive assets (such as land reforms and technologies) influence production of marketable surplus with potential to enhance household welfare.

In Table 5.7 above, showing market access and participation across the study sites, resettled farmers reported 100 percent access and participation in at least one of their crop markets compared to a measly 5 percent market participation in the control group. The difference is attributed to some of the factors outlined above, including the existence of marketable surplus absent to most, if not all, farmers in the control group because of lack of access to productive resources. Universal market access by Mkwasine A2 sugarcane farmers can be explained by physical access in terms of the existence of transport infrastructure which lower costs of transportation and other transactions costs (Rio *et al.* 2009; OECD 2007). Two sugar mills

serve the area and being linked to a sugar mill is essential as only large companies can invest in such infrastructure (Scoones *et al.* 2016: 2; Wilson *et al.* 1986). This is complemented by a railway network and wagons operated by the National Railways of Zimbabwe to transport cane to the Hippo Valley and the Triangle Mills at 50km and 75 km distance, respectively (Wilsons *et al.* 1986).

In the case of the A1 farmers, lack of physical access in terms of road and railway networks is compensated by the establishment of an on-site marketing point for at least one of their cash crops, which eliminated transportation and associated costs. Better Agriculture had constructed chillies drying pans where the chilli is dried and bagged on-site before transportation to Harare, creating additional employment in the community. In both the A2 and A1 farming areas market participation had led to market-oriented production where households specialise in the production of those goods for which they hold a comparative advantage. As highlighted by the company's Field Officer, chilli is becoming one of the major crops cultivated in the A1 study site. The outcome is a more rapid productivity growth due to large-scale production combined with welfare gains derived from crop marketing for both female and male-headed households. This is in contrast to the experiences of non-land beneficiaries in the control group. The linkages to lucrative domestic and global markets in high-value commodity chains have had more robust welfare outcomes for the A1 and A2 land beneficiaries as evidenced by accumulation of productive and other assets.

5.7 Accumulation of Productive and non-Productive Assets

Paul Glewwe argues that stocks of both human and physical capital are not exogenously given to households but rather are accumulated according to long-term plans for maximizing household productive capacities and welfare (1991: 312). As such, it is crucial to investigate the process by which households accumulated these stocks. Archie Mafeje (2003) writing on the agrarian question in sub-Saharan Africa makes a distinction between the mode of petty production and expanded petty commodity production. In the former, use-value is the dominant factor whereas in the latter exchange value dominates in the allocation of resources and labour. Production in the expanded petty commodity is expressly meant for the market aimed at accumulating value. Using the term 'accumulation from below' for the latter, Mafeje argued that the process of an accumulation from below could not be taken for granted under all socio-economic conditions. He argued that for those in petty commodity production, it does not mean they are averse to accumulation. Unfavourable socio-economic conditions,

such as landlessness, reduce significantly their prospects for accumulating from below. In some contexts, he argued, “extractive state policies, lack of infrastructure, proper marketing facilities, exploitation by middlemen and unscrupulous traders also militate against accumulation from below”. This background forms the context in which the enhancement of productive capacities and accumulation in FTLRP areas ought to be assessed.

The FTLRP acted as a key strategy enabling the participation of smallholder producers in high-value agricultural commodity markets. The high incomes realised from these ventures have seen both female and male-headed households accumulating productive assets to enhance their productive capacities. Contrasting accumulation of pre-2000 resettled farmers and the FTLRP beneficiaries, Dekker and Kinsey (2011) argue that the former received dedicated support at the outset including free tillage and seed, fertiliser packs, credit and 100 percent public extension coverage, markets and health infrastructure, while the latter received little or no support whatsoever from the government (2011: 996).

Table 5.12 below shows investment in productive assets, particularly tractors, across the research sites. Also, it captures the ownership of cars as an indicator of affluence and welfare in the research areas. As shown in the table, tractor ownership stood at 40.6 percent and 12.1 percent for A2 and A1 farmers. In the A2 study area, 45 percent of female plot holders own tractors relative to 33 percent within male plot holders. This suggests that female land beneficiaries are investing more in productive assets compared to their male counterparts. A bivariate analysis, Table 5.13 below, looking at the association between gender of plot holder and marital status with respect with ownership of tractors highlights some interesting statistics. Within the A2 farming areas out of the 46.2 percent female tractor ownership, widows constitute 53.8 percent within this sub-group. These statistics corroborate findings from the latest household survey by the Sam Moyo Institute of Agrarian Studies indicating that in the A2 category more females own tractors at 45.8 percent relative to 41.5 percent for males (SMAIAS 2014).

Table 5.12 Ownership of Tractors (productice) and Cars (non-productive) Assets by Gender of Plot Holder

		Tractor Ownership by Gender of Plot Holder				Car Ownership by Gender of Plot Holder			
		Yes		No		Yes		No	
		Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Mkwasine A2 Farmers	Male	4	33.3	8	66.7	11	91.7	1	8.3
	Female	9	45.0	11	55	18	90.0	2	10.0
	Total	**13**	**40.6**	**19**	**59.4**	**29**	**90.6**	**3**	**9.4**
Maware A1 Farmers	Male	1	6.7	14	93.3	7	46.7	8	53.3
	Female	3	16.7	15	83.3	3	16.7	15	83.3
	Total	**4**	**12.1**	**29**	**87.9**	**10**	**30.3**	**22**	**69.7**
Muteyo Communal Farmers	Male	0	0.0	18	100	0	0.0	18	100
	Female	0	0.0	22	100	0	0.0	22	100
	Total	**0**	**0.0**	**40**	**100**	**0**	**0.0**	**40**	**100**

Table 5.13 Bivariate Analysis: Tractor and Car Ownership by Marital Status of Plot Holder

	Mkwasine A2 Farms								Maware A1 Farms							
	Tractor Ownership				Car Ownership				Tractor Ownership				Car Ownership			
	Yes		No		Yes		No		Yes		No		Yes		No	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
MCL	4	30.8	6	31.6	10	34.5	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	6.9	2	20.0	0	0.0
MCU	1	7.7	3	15.8	4	13.8	0	0.0	1	25.0	6	20.7	2	20.0	5	22.7
PLG	1	7.7	2	10.5	2	6.9	1	33.3	1	25.0	12	41.4	5	50.0	8	36.4
DSS	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	25.0	1	3.4	1	10.0	1	4.5
WD	7	53.8	8	42.1	13	44.8	2	66.7	1	25.0	8	27.6	0	0.0	8	36.4
Total	**13**	**100**	**19**	**100**	**29**	**100**	**3**	**100**	**4**	**100**	**29**	**100**	**10**	**100**	**22**	**100**

Key MCL- monogamous civil marriage; MCU- monogamous customary marriage; PLG- polygamous marriage; DSS- divorced, single, separated; WD- widows

5.7.1 Forward and Backward Linkages

Before the land reform of 2000, the Estate envisaged that it would not be economically warranted for planters (old resettlement sugarcane growers) to invest capital in their own haulage equipment (Wilson *et al.* 1986). However, following the FTLRP, Mkwasine Estate auctioned all its sugarcane transportation equipment to resettled farmers. Those who purchased the equipment moved up the value chain to become transporters and owners of cranes loading sugarcane bundles at railway and road loading zones. Some, including female farmers, had purchased 30-tonne trucks as part of their vertical integration in the value chain. These additional streams of revenue flowing to the farmers, both female and male land beneficiaries are evidenced by their consumption of non-productive assets such as cars as shown in Table 5.13 above. The majority of A2 study participants, at over 90 percent, own cars. A gender analysis reveals that within female plot holders, 90 percent own cars just as equal to 91.7 percent within male plot holders. Widows constituted 44.8 percent and 25 percent of women owning cars in the A2 and A1 farming areas, respectively, compared to none in the control group. This suggests that land beneficiaries have far higher welfare in terms of affluence contrasted to non-land reform beneficiaries.

5.8 Conclusion

The empirical evidence presented in the chapter indicates that redistribution is one indisputable outcome of the FTLRP. Accompanied by access to water for irrigation, the effect on the productive capacities of smallholder households has been substantial. In spite of the difficult economic condition facing the country, empirical evidence from the study sites confirms land and agrarian reforms as an important social policy instrument to engender household and individual productive capacities with attendant welfare outcomes at individual and household level. While the findings presented in the chapter are specific to Chiredzi District with its own peculiarities, I firmly assert that within agrarian economies, land and agrarian reforms are more effective ways of dealing with poverty with immense potential to enhance the welfare of female-headed households in relation to those headed household by males. This chapter dwelt not on intra-household gender dynamics in the distribution and control over economic resources, which are critical in assessing individual welfare within households. These issues are subject of the subsequent chapter dealing with social relations and institutions in the context of land reforms

Chapter Six

Redistribution and Transformation of Social Relations and Institutions

6.0 Introduction

The chapter opens by emphasising gendered social relations and institutions as important objects of social policies for gender equality within the Transformative Social Policy framework. Transformation of gendered social relations and institutions engendered by the redistributive FTLRP and their attendant welfare outcomes is assessed across a selected number of areas and at different levels of analysis viz. state, community and household levels. Areas of gender transformation assessed resulting from the FTLRP distribution of land irrespective of sex and marital status include allocation criteria for resettlement land; female landholding and land relations within marriage and associated institutions of inheritance. The observed outcomes of changing social relations and institutions in fast track areas that are discussed in the chapter focused on transformed social identities, status and class; participation in community decision-making structures and household bargaining power and welfare.

6.1 Transformative Social Policy and Social Relations and Institutions

The transformation of social institutions and relations, particularly gender remains an important object of social policy within the Transformative Social Policy framework (Adesina 2011: 466, 2009: 38; Mkandawire 2007; UNRISD 2006). This is particularly important as social relations, and institutions tend not only to restrict capabilities and choices, affecting patterns and rates of economic development but also affect the welfare of women relative to that of men. TSP emphasises the importance of transforming social and gender norms——the unwritten, informal social rules embedded in social relations and institutions——that tend to marginalise and disadvantage women (Hillenbrand and Miruka 2019: 13) with implications on their welfare. Critically important to consider is the fact that social and gender norms are internalised in women and men's consciousness——aspect most missed in many policy attentions to gender. The utility of the gender and social norms perspective lies in its ability to shift the unit of analysis from the individual to examine the broader 'social

ways of doing things', the relational social process (West and Zimmermann 1987; Mackie *et al.* 2015 cited in Hillenbrand and Miruka 2019: 13).

In support of this framing Martin (2004) makes a case for "framing gender in terms of its collective, institutional, and historical properties" in order to depict the institution more accurately, thus rendering it more accessible for sociological analysis (Martin 2004: 2259). Resonating with Martin's assertion, Judith Lorber (1994) argues that "conceptualising gender as a social institution is necessary to make the origins and perpetuation of gender more explicit. Doing so increases awareness of gender's sociality and susceptibility to human agency, thus undermining popular presumptions that gender is somehow 'natural,' 'biological', and 'essential" (Lorber 1994). She further argues that the "prime paradox of gender is that in order to dismantle the institution, one must first make it visible" thus making the institution susceptible to change (Lorber 1994:10). The next section examines the extent to which gendered resettlement land allocations have been transformed within the FTLRP.

6.2 Recurrent State Practices and Allocation of Resettlement Land

Feminists scholars had stressed that the modern nation-state is 'founded on patriarchal attitudes and norms of behaviour" resulting in the marginalisation of women in all spheres of life (Chingarande *et al.* 2012: 67). Resultantly, they had described the state as 'male' in a feminist sense at it treats women the same way men sees and treats women (MacKinnon (1982: 532 cited in Chingarande et al 2012). This rings true of the land allocations in Zimbabwe from the pre- and post-independence period. As highlighted by Jirira and Halimana (2008), underlying land reforms in Zimbabwe were the pervasive influence of patriarchal institutions and functionaries involved in the programme. The LAA of 1930 and the Native Husbandry Act of 1951 unashamedly discriminated against women's access to land as "they specified only men as holders of farming rights" (Gaidzanwa 1981; see also Deere & Leon 2003 for the Latin American experience). The recurrent practice by the colonial state ensured that "laws on land rights followed and perpetuated the traditional marginalisation of women" further entrenching their dependence on men (Gaidzanwa 2011:5).

Post-independence, women were marginalised in land allocations and resettlement programmes in the early 1980s and late '90s. Through habitualization, land allocation targeted male heads of households to the exclusion of women, customarily not considered as

household heads (Chingarande 2008: 277; Chiweshe *et al.* 2014; Gaidzanwa 2011; Chiweshe 2015a; Mazhawidza and Manjengwa 2009; Moyo 1995; Dekker 2004a; Goebel 2005). Such gendered recurrent practices by the state ended up being cast into a pattern reconstituting the gender institution (Martin 2004: 1256; Connell 1987; Giddens 1984). Consequently, by 1984 less than one-twentieth of resettled households were female-headed, the majority of whom were widows (Dekker 2004a). More than a decade later, this statistic had not changed as less than 5 percent of resettled households by 1997 were female-headed (Chingarande 2008). Women did not benefit equally in the individual and collective resettlement models of the first decade (Ranchod-Nilsson 2006: 60). Highlighting the discriminatory state practices with regard to women's access to land, Bhatasara and Chiweshe (2017) points out that early resettlement programmes lacked a specific gender focus as it marginalised all categories of women, except widows (2017: 160).

In terms of transforming the gendered state practices in allocation of resettlement land, the FTLRP was path-breaking and marked a culmination of the institutional historicity of gender in Zimbabwe (Berger and Luckmann 1966: 54; Connell 1987: 246). Research has indicated that 18 percent and 12 percent of land allocations in the A1 and A2 models, respectively went to women in their own right (Chiweshe *et al.* 2014:6; Utete 2003; GoZ & SIRDC 2007). This is in stark contrast to a situation where women largely benefitted from resettlement land allocation as proxies of male-led households (Matondi 2012: 189). Some studies peg the figures between 10-28 percent of the land beneficiaries to be women (Chingarande 2008; WLZ 2007) in contrast to less than 4 percent of white farms owned by women in the previous dispensation (Hanlon *et al.* 2013: 160). This represents a significant transformation in state patriarchal practices attributed to the lobbying of gender advocacy groups such as the Women and Land Lobby Group (WLLG). The lobby by women activist groups towards the FTLRP in the late 1990s forced the state to move away from its patriarchal practice to set a 20 percent quota for women in the FTLRP land allocations (Hilhorst 2000:194; Goebel 2005). While allocation to women under the FTLRP was much better than in preceding land allocations, in many areas actual landholding by women in their own right is still less. Notwithstanding the target being met, 20 percent quota was still not anywhere near parity for gender equality. This suggests that more could have been and could be done in future land allocations for more gender equality and welfare.

Nevertheless, as shown in Table 5.1 (page 120) many women—married, unmarried (divorced, single, separated)—from the "customary areas took advantage of the widespread

movement onto commercial farms during 'jambanja, to gain access to land which was not available to them" in the customary areas (Chiweshe *et al.* 2014: 6). In most of the cases, their status as 'occupiers' was formalized by the state under the FTLRP (Chiweshe *et al.* 2014: 6). Empirical findings from this study indicate that in the Mkwasine A2 sugarcane areas of Chiredzi 24.4 percent of the plots were distributed to FHHs. In terms of welfare, within agrarian communities, ability to produce require access to key productive assets, land being one such key resource. Below are some field experiences of A1 land female land beneficiaries narrating how they got allocated resettlement land during the FTLRP:

> *An audit team came giving people certificates of occupation. They expected to find the 'owner' of the land on the ground. They did not question whether the person is female or male. They knew everyone should have access to land whether male or female. Then I got my certificate in my own name. Now women have been recognised as 'people' (chirongwa ichi chakaita kuti vakadzi titariswewo sevanhu). Since it was allowed for a woman to apply for land in her own right l came and waited for my own land (In-depth Interview Married Female A1 Land Beneficiary 08 May 2016).*
>
> *In the past, no woman could own land, but this time the government made it open for everyone, including women who had separated with their husbands or widowed to access land together with their children. The land she got is hers and her children's (In-depth Interview Divorced Female A1 Land Beneficiary 11 May 2016).*
>
> *While in the communal areas, we did not know that a woman could own land; this came with the government's land reform programme. (In-depth Interview Married Female A1 Land Beneficiary 10 May 2016)*

The testimonies of female A1 land beneficiaries above testify to the transformational effect of the Fast Track Land Reform Programme. Quoting from the first participant:

> *Now women have been recognised as 'people' (chirongwa ichi chakaita kuti vakadzi titariswewo sevanhu).*

This represents a response coming from persons who, previously, have been regarded as legal minor (Ranchod-Nilsson 2006: 60; Ncube 1997: 13; Jacobs and Howard 1987: 31Whitehead and Tsikata 2003) with no entitlement to the state. According to them, being allocated and issued a certificate of occupancy is a recognition by the state beyond measure. Now they are being regarded as citizens equal to men——"representing a different form of

citizenship as the 'subjects of rights" (Waylen 1998: 12). The second participant captures what Bhatasara and Chiweshe (2017: 160) noted as one of the shortcomings of the Phase One Resettlement Programme in which the programme was framed from a perspective regarding all women as either married or widowed. She explains:

> *"But this time the government made it open for everyone including women who had separated with their husbands to access land."*

The formerly excluded groups of women (the never married; divorced or separated) were, in the FTLRP eligible beneficiaries of resettlement land as the empirical evidence suggests. No group of women was excluded, including the married (Participant 3).

> *"…We did not know that a woman can own land, this came with the government's land reform programme."*

This represented a gender transformational move by the state from its earlier gendered practice of only allocating resettlement land to male heads of households and widows with dependents as a default case (Goebel 2005; Mazhawidza and Manjengwa 2009). The participant view presented above contrasts markedly with Matondi (2012) conceptualisation of the FTLRP as a 'revolution without change'. Matondi's assertion contrasts with the views of a key gender activist organisation, which lobbied the government for the 20 percent quota in the FTLRP programme:

> *Our institutional view as Women and Land in Zimbabwe (WLZ) is two-pronged regarding gender and the FTLRP. The first one is that the programme created an opportunity for women to access land because single women could go and line up for land during the land reform process. The second regard the manner the FTLRP happened, which was not gender sensitive. In the initial stages of the programme, people would get onto the farms, and then government would come and regularise those who had got already onto the land. The process was not conducive for breast-feeding and pregnant women. At times, married women wanted to get land, but the husbands may not let them go. So, it means those who were single had a greater opportunity to go and do 'jambanja' unlike those who were married, breast-feeding or pregnant who could not go and stay into the bush. That process alone was not favourable for women to then access land, although it created a very big opportunity*

for women (Key Informant Interview Director, Women and Land in Zimbabwe 18 February 2016).

To an extent, the view explains the age and marital status of women who got land under the FTLRP. It acknowledges that the programme created a huge opportunity for transforming recurrent institutional practices in allocating, the productive, and wealth creating and livelihood sustaining asset. In the quantitative study sample, 53.1 percent and 46.9 percent of the A2 women respondents were married and widowed, respectively, with no single or divorced women forming part of the study participants. In the A1 a more varied category of women was represented comprising 66.7 percent, 6.1 percent and 27.2 percent of the respondents being married, divorced/separated or single and widowed women, respectively. Although, some categories of women were disadvantaged, particularly those who were pregnant and breast-feeding, the welfare benefits of the FTLRP are accruing to men as well as women land beneficiaries as shall be discussed. Improvement in gender norms by the state regarding the allocation of resettlement land which defied the existing practices in customary communal areas was also accompanied by changes in the land registration, particularly joint registration for couples.

6.3 Women and the Registration of Fast Track Land

Emanating from gendered social norms in the Phase One Resettlement Programme, particularly with reference to married couples, institutional legitimation ensured that land permits were issued in the name of the husband (Chiweshe *et al.* 2014: 2; Moyo 1995; Jacobs 1993: 136). A survey of couples in old resettlement areas showed that 98 percent of "permits given for crop and grazing lands in Model A (family-based) schemes were held by husbands against a mere 2 percent for wives (Gaidzanwa 1988). In the case of divorce, a married female settler lost any right to stay on a Model A Scheme" (Chingarande 2008: 278). Moyo (1998) providing a gender-disaggregated analysis of registered landowners reports that that by the late 1990s 75 percent of registered landowners were male, 20 percent of the farms were jointly owned, and less than 5 percent were owned by women and below 4 percent of the land was owned by black women. As a result of the prevailing social and gender norms, the legitimacy, rightness and justification of such gendered pattern of land ownership were unquestionable. However, as argued by Chingarande (2008), these startling inequitable gender statistics in land ownership formed the basis for advocacy for enhanced women land rights.

Resultantly, women activist organisations lobbied the government to remove barriers to gender equity in land by legislating individual and joint land registration or lease for couples. This led to the inclusion of Article 3.2.3.5 Land Tenure Arrangements in the government Land Reform Policy of 2000, which stated:

> *"Land leases and titles deeds for married couples should be in both spouses' names (Zimbabwe 2001:13 cited in Goebel 2005:156)."*

This was a significant stride towards transforming the gender institution with positive outcomes for women in relation to men as illustrated Table 6.1 below, showing the name in which land documents are registered within male and female-headed households in the resettlement study sites.

Table 6.1 Land Documents in Women's Names by Gender of Household Head

Gender of Household Head		Land Documents in Woman's Name			
		Yes		No	
		Number	%	Number	%
Mkwasine A2 Farmers	Male	2	13.3	13	86.7
	Female	12	70.6	5	29.4
	Total	**14**	**43.7**	**18**	**56.3**
Fisher's Exact Test Score	**.001**				
Maware A1 Farmers	Male	6	30.0	14	70.0
	Female	9	69.2	4	30.8
	Total	**15**	**46.9**	**17**	**53.1**
Fisher's Exact Test Score	**.041**				

Source: Field Notes (2016)

Whilst the Fisher's Exact Test Score, both for A1 and A2 farming areas showing some significant statistical relationships between gender of household head and the name in which land is registered (Table 6.1 above), there are some indications to transformed gender relations in land registration in resettlement areas. In contrast to the situation in the customary communal areas where women do not own land, 43.8 percent of the study participants from both male and female-headed households in the A2 study areas indicated that their land documents were registered in a woman's names. The figure is slightly higher in the A1 study area where it stood at and 46.9 percent. A gender analysis of Table 6.1 reveals that 13.3 percent of the land documents registered in women's names in A2 is found in MHHs. More than double the figure found in the A2 farming areas at 30 percent, the land documents registered in a woman's name in the A1 farming area were in MHHs. This support the claim that government documents in 'fast track' policy specifically stated that both women and men

qualify by law for permits in their own names——a paradigmatic shift in policy from the pre-2000 land reforms accompanied by positive social and economic transformation within resettlement areas (ZWRCN 1996 cited in Shumba 2011: 239). This is well captured by a quote from Allison Goebel (2005).

> "…. By claiming primary rights to land, women create distinctly regime-defying identities for themselves. Historically, culturally and in the current 'regime of truth' for women to claim land in their own right is distinctly to step out of place" (Sylvester 2008: 88 cited in Goebel 2005: 34)

Within resettlement areas, women are quick to assert this state-backed gender transformation while men are beginning to accept the changing gender norms with regard to women female landholding. Below are some voices from the field, highlighting the gender transformation in terms of land registration during the FTLRP:

> *During the land reform programme, l went and applied for land at the Agritex department just as others were doing. I was just trying as women are always looked down upon. After 3 months, I received a call from Masvingo notifying that there is an offer letter in my name. I went there and was told that I was offered land at Mkwasine estate. This is how I got this piece of land. My husband died in 1994, well before the land reform programme. The land is 17.3 ha (In-depth Interview Female A2 Land Beneficiary 03 September 2016)*

> *I am the one who looked for the land even though my husband was still alive. I applied and got an opportunity and got the 20-ha land in my name even though my husband is still alive (In-depth Interview Female A2 Land Beneficiary 14 September 2016).*

Such testimonies were not peculiar to the A2 sugarcane areas alone but also in the A1 areas where women explicitly demonstrated how empowered the feel by having land registered in their own names:

> *I have a land permit in my name, Jane Gudo (pseudonym). This makes me feel secure on the land; even my husband relatives are unable to take away the land from me. I just take out the certificate of the land, which specifies me as the owner of the land. On this aspect the government did well, kuti (munhudzi anofanira kuita munhurume pachakewo) 'a woman must stand on her own just as a man'. In the past, no woman*

would remain working on the land after the death of the husband; she would be chased away. The government had empowered me by giving land in my name, signifying that the property belongs to me. (In-depth Interview Female A1 Land Beneficiary 11 May 2016).

According to the above testimony, having a certificate of land in a woman's name is a source of protection from husband's relatives wishing to take the land away from her on the basis of customary law. The women felt they could stand on their own without the need of a husband or male relative to access (resettlement) land as common practice in the customary areas where they came from. The above testimonies from women indicate how a land right in woman's name makes her feel empowered through recognised and enforceable land documents.

As a caution, the above should not imply a complete transformation of gendered, cultural and social norms against female landholding or a woman's name appearing on land permits as reflected during an FGD with men:

It is difficult for me to allow my wife to have land in her name. I can accept only widowed women to obtain land. I will die the moment that happens. When that happens the family, land, children and everything would belong to the wife. That is what women would do. That is the reason why we do not like them to have the land permit in their name. She will tell you in your, face that this is my place. The wives should stay with us, and we look after them, whatever we get from my land we share. That same of land in my name is also hers too (Sabhuku (Village Head) Mazino Male Focus Group Discussion 23 October 2016).

The persistent and entrenched discriminatory cultural belief against women landholding is not only at an individual level but permeates all levels from the household to the state level. It represents a defining attribute of gender as an institution. A lot still needs to be done to transform gendered cultural beliefs still prevalent in society, particularly among men. At the state level, there is evidence pointing to a move away from oppressive cultural practices, and a good case in point is the enactment of Statutory Instrument (S.I) 53 of 2014 governing agricultural land in Zimbabwe.

6.4 Statutory Instrument (S.I.) 53 of 2014 and the Institution of Marriage

Since 2000 the government had made progressive policy reforms aimed at transforming gendered social relations in land within marriage. In 2014 the government gazetted S.I. 53 of 2014, the latest policy document governing land under the Agricultural Land Settlement (Permit Terms and Conditions), to consolidate women's gains in the FTLRP. Germane to this study are issues to do with land ownership in the context of marriage, divorce and death. It is important to highlight at this juncture that, in the case of married couples, the Zimbabwean government had not been advocating for individual rights to land, but joint registration or ownership as outlined in the S.I. 53 of 2014:

> *"If a permit holder is married to one or more spouses at the time the permit is signed, his or her spouse(s) shall be deemed to hold an equal joint and undivided share in the allocated land" (S.I. 53 of 2014 Section 10 (2)).*

This applies to both cases where the land is registered either in the name of the wife or husband. However, the clause does not preclude couples that may wish to have both, or all their names appear on the land document:

> *"A signatory permit holder or (if there are two or more signatories of the permit), every signatory permit holder jointly, may request an amendment of the permit to enable his or her spouse to become a joint signatory thereof" (S.I. 53 of 2014 Section 10 (2).*

A footnote to this clause explains "it is not necessary for every holder of a joint and undivided share in the allocated land to become a signatory, so long as at least one of them is a signatory. A signatory of the permit is primarily responsible for ensuring the fulfilment of the conditions of the permit". Emphasising these crucial and potential areas of contention on the permit itself, it is clearly stated:

> *"However, despite the fact that the permit is issued to the person named in this section, the spouse of the Permit holder or, in the case of polygamous marriage, all the spouses of the Permit Holder, shall be regarded as Joint Heads of Households for the purposes of this permit" (S.I. 53 of 2014:218).*

This represents a significant departure and transformation of the gender institution contrasted to the previously legitimized sentiments that if women want land, they should not get

married. In this path-breaking policy document, both women and men in the context of marriage are regarded as 'Joint Heads of Households'——a significant shift from the pre-fast track land titling where only males were regarded as 'heads of households' (Gaidzanwa 1981, 1988; Jacobs 2002: 887). Such laws and policies have far-reaching implications not only in transforming gender as a social institution but have ripple effects on other social institutions such marriage and inheritance with potential to enhance the welfare of women in relation to men.

However, such progressive gender reforms must be understood in the broader legal changes that were happening within the country, particularly with regard to the Constitution as one policy road to women's ownership of land (Kelkar 2014: 5). The promulgation of the new Constitution of 2013 embracing the principles of gender equality (Svodziwa 2019: 6) dealt away with the most notorious Section 23 (3) (a, b) of the old Constitution. This section recognised the application of African customary law on matters relating to marriage, property on death and matters of personal law (Bhatasara and Chiweshe 2017: 160; Svodziwa 2019: 6; Ncube 1997: 7) allowing for discrimination against women in matters relating to land. The elimination of this longstanding section was not without the struggles for women (see Essof 2013). An exclusive focus on legal reforms alone provides some critical insights on the evolutions and contradictions of social relations and institutions, especially gender in the African context.

In many African societies, the institution of marriage occupies a key position in the configuration of power that constructs space, identity and women's position of dependence" (Kesby 1999:30). The transfer of bride wealth "or marriage payment (*lobola, rovoro or roora)* from the kin of the husband to the wife's kin represent not only creation of social bond between the two lineages but also a transfer of the woman's productive and reproductive capacities from her kin to that of her husband and his kin (Yngstrom 2002: 29). Consequently, the woman is expected to labour for her husband and his relatives rather than her own and children produced from the union belong to her husband's rather than her lineage" (Schmidt 1990: 635; Yngstrom 2002: 29). The regulatory effect of customary marriage on the household organisation of labour and its subtle implications for gender equality, particularly in agrarian societies makes it an often-ignored object of social policy. Its implications on the social and economic welfare of (married) women were evident from women's experiences captured during in-depth interviews;

Earliest in the morning l attend to my garden, after which we go and work in the husband's field, then cook for the family and return to work on our fields as wives (In-depth Interview Polygamous Married Female A1 Land Beneficiary 13 May 2016).

I must finish the work he had assigned before attending to my own field. If he finds me in my field without finishing the assigned work, a conflict would arise (In-depth Interview Polygamous Married Female A1 Land Beneficiary 05 May 2016).

My husband comes but has no say on what I will be doing, saying these are your crops. He has his own crops at the other plot and seldom assists us in our fields. I also go there to assist him on his field since we are now farming separately (In-depth Interview Married Female A1 Farmer Permit Own Name).

As observed by Amanor-Wilks, such dynamics reflect social relations of production rooted in structurally unequal power relations in which men as a group seek to control female labour, reproducing gender inequalities and poverty (2009: 32). At the same time, it highlights the conjugal contract to be at the heart of household production relations in which cooperation and conflict are two sides of the same coin as land relations are governed by various institutions (Tsikata and Amanor-Wilks 2009: 3). The situation may not be so different for (married) women whose land documents are in their name, as represented by Respondent 3 quoted above. However, for single women who accessed land in their own right, it is quite liberating as they can assert control over their production processes. These insights on household land relations suggest that for land reforms to be transformative associated institutional reforms, particularly marriage reforms, are enabling devices in efforts to enhance the welfare of women relative to that of men. This brings the discussion squarely with longstanding feminist contention of the family as a unitary household (Quismbing and Maluccio 2000:1; Araya and Chung 2015:139; Hobson 1990: 236).

6.5 The Unitary Household and the Allocative Powers of Husbands

Related to the male-breadwinner on which the welfare state was premised, the transfer of land to households makes it critical to analyse households as critical and contested sites permeated with gender (Araya and Chung 2015: 139; Apusigah 2009:53). Feminist scholars have long questioned the he unitary model on which most social policies are based (Quismbing and Maluccio 2000:1). Public policies crafted with the implicit assumption of the family as a unit of shared interest resources shared equally ignores the important gender

dimensions of power and dependence "in the family and how it affects the distribution of resources" (Hobson 1990: 236). These insights illuminate household dynamics in the gendered allocation of land between women and men within the context of marriage as exemplified by the experiences of married women documented during in-depths interviews

The practice of husbands allocating land to their wives presented a wide variation difficult to generalise. Among the ten in-depths interview respondents representing MHHs in which the aspect was explored in detail, three had the land registered in their names with the husbands staying on the farm. In the first two, the husbands had no say on matters relating to the farm activities, as the wives were effectively the landholders. The third case represented a compromise made between the husband and wife to get the land registered in the wife's name. The husband is a civil servant working in the area as a Catchment Field Officer and was not eligible to file for land during the FTLRP. As a result to gain access to resettlement land the wife was then used as the front even though she could have filed on her own for land just like any other women without the assistance of the husband. She is not allocated land by the husband as she is in charge of the daily farming activities while the husband is at work during the day yet farming 'together' as it may. Her situation is somewhat similar to another monogamously married women whose husband works in Chiredzi town only different in that the absence of the husband makes her totally in charge with no situation of husband allocating her land. One monogamous married women whose husband is a resident farmer testifies being allocated a whole field to cultivate her own crops by the husband:

> *My access to land is through my husband, and it depends if he agrees for me to have a portion on the land. He gave me a portion to plant my chilli as a woman. The crop is mine, and the account in which the proceeds are going to be deposited is in my name. I am the one in control of the proceeds since I am the one who has joined the contract (In-depth Interview Married Female A1 Land Beneficiary 11 May 2016).*

While this was not the same for others, some monogamously married wives had different experiences:

> *For married couples, the programme has not transformed very much as most women are accessing land through their husbands. We are given smaller and not the best land. Unless the pieces of land were bigger, maybe they may enhance our production and yields, thus improving the lives of women (In-depth Interview Married Female A1 Land Beneficiary 14 May 2016).*

Even though the husband allocated land, they felt the land was not enough and not the best land compared to what husbands allocate to them. Husbands' allocative power in land extends to their control over how proceeds from farming are to be shared. This echoes Walter Korpi (2000) observation that "it would be fruitful to view the household as a relatively stable coalition of adults with partly shared, partly conflicting interests, a coalition involved in distributive strife at the societal level as well as internal bargaining" (Korpi 2000:129; Sen 1987). Control over a piece of land entails decision-making power over production processes, including how benefits are to be distributed as explicitly highlighted during female and male focus group discussions:

> *We wish if we can have plots of our own…*
>
> *Cultivating together with husbands has problems. As a wife, you would expect that after selling our produce the husband is going to buy children's clothes, pay for school fees and children's uniforms, buying food in the household and so on. Surprisingly, not even one of these is done. The small amount I get from my vegetable portions is not enough to cover all these items*
>
> *… Men have not changed very much. The husband will now call it 'my money', yet we were working together in the field (Female FDG A1 Farmers 24 October 2016).*

While women highlighted the gendered distributional strife within households highlighting the unequal power relations, men were quick to defend their position, suggesting that the struggles for women are far from over:

> *In farming, it is not the same as dual-earner households in formal employment. When we got our money, we find that we do not have enough ploughs and cattle and so on. Then we will be left with a smaller amount, which we will share. She gets an amount to purchase her household utensils, and l gets mine for my own personal expenses. But women always think the husband has taken more money, including the assets we have bought and the inputs. Maybe the problem arises since the productive assets will be in the name of the husband (Male FDG A1 Farmers 23 October 2016).*

The testimonies suggest inequitable household distribution of proceeds supporting the view that policies based on the household as the distributive unit do not always benefit women, thus deepening gender inequality (Hobson 1990).

This supports findings from other studies indicating that household and individual welfare are not necessarily the same because of differences in the control of household assets and incomes (Kelkar 2014: 3). Seeking to escape the associated household distributional conflict, married women have sought alternative livelihoods strategies outside land to enhance their welfare. In both A1 and A2 farming areas, some women have engaged themselves in small livestock production and other related activities to avoid distributional conflict with husbands over proceeds from farming. Models taking cognisance of individuals' different interests and preferences within the household and the need for control over their own resources gaining currency in the design of policies to transfer resources households (Quisumbing and Maluccio 2000:7). This has the potential to enhance the welfare of women and children relative to that of men. Such models represent yet another area of further research in gender and land reform studies, particularly with respect to the African patriarchal context. In this regard, the situation of women in polygamous marriage brings into focus the varied experiences of women in different household setups, a phenomenon often missed by homogenising women.

6.5.1 Women Experiences and the Institution of Polygyny

In the Zimbabwean context, customary laws on marriage were maintained, including polygyny in which junior wives and their children are mainly for labour purposes and male accumulation (Cheater 1981: 357). As a result, it has not been surprising that in old resettlement areas male monogamous plot holders were marrying more wives while those who settled as polygamous plot holders were marrying additional wives (Cheater 1981: 357; Jacobs 1983: 37; Chenaux-Repond 1993). The situation of husband allocating land to their wives is more acute within polygamous marriages, as evidenced by the experience of some in-depth female respondents:

> *I am the eighth wife of my husband. The challenge we have is for each wife to have her own portion as many as we are and time to work on the portions as well as our husband's field. There would not be enough land and water for all the portions (In-depth Interview Polygamous Married Female A1 Land Beneficiary 13 May 2016).*

> *I am the fourth wife of my husband. Here on our plot, there is no way I can access land to grow my own crop unless my husband allocates me an area I can use. I usually make use of portions left out by the husband out in the field to grow*

vegetables, sweet potatoes and sugarcane (In-depth Polygamous Married Female A1 Land Beneficiary 05 May 2016).

The above experiences represented the experiences of women in polygamous marriages who are either not allocated any land or had to resort to marginal portions of land on the plot to cultivate their own crops. In the other group of polygamous married women allocated land by their husbands as households, the latter will take that as an excuse for any responsibility leaving the wife to fend for herself and her children. This was captured during an in-depth interview with one polygamous married woman whose husband had allocated fields to all his wives:

Our husband had allocated each of his wives a portion of land to sustain our households. After selling my produce I use the money to buy other household foodstuffs not bought by the husband because what we get from the husband is not enough for my family (In-depth Polygamous Married Female A1 Land Beneficiary 08 May 2016).

Testimonies above suggest varying household practices with regard to women access to land within the family with varied implications on the welfare of women relative to men in different household setups. While disaggregation by gender is highly commendable, there has been a tendency to categorise MHHs as a homogenous category often juxtaposed to the heterogeneity of FHHs. The position of married women has been assumed to be homogenous without disaggregating females in monogamous and polygamous marriages, respectively. To achieve gender transformation and welfare for women, reforms in land must be accompanied by marriage reforms, particularly outlawing harmful institutions such as polygyny. Empirical evidence from this study based on women experiences above suggests that the welfare of many females in polygamous marriages may be far worse than any other defining category for women——an area requiring further empirical research. The challenges for married women do not end with being allocated land by the husband or not but extends to the control of proceeds from the farming activities as highlighted above.

6.6 Transforming Social Institution of Inheritance

Related to the institution of marriage discussed above with regard to the marginalisation of women in access to land is the social construction of the institution of inheritance. The patrilocal mobility of women in marriage positioned them as non-heirs with no direct

inheritance rights under customary law (Kesby 1999:30; Apusigah 2009:53; Chiweshe *et al.* 2014: 7). Resultantly, Thus, upon the death of the male titleholder, culturally widows lost their rights in land to the husband male relatives or son since they could not inherit land (Bhatasara 2011: 324). A landmark ruling came on the heels of the FTLRP in 1999 which received international condemnation related to the Magaya vs. Magaya case denying inheritance rights to women; the ruling specified that only men could inherit (Ranchod-Nilsson 2006: 40). Henceforth, it is critical to analyse the extent to which the situation of women with regard to the social institution of inheritance had changed with the FTLRP.

The latest policy document governing land within resettlement areas in Zimbabwe, S.I 53 of 2014 states that:

> *"Upon the death of a signatory of a permit holder, his or her rights under the permit devolve to the surviving spouse with consequent that the surviving spouse inherits the joint and undivided share in the allocated land of the deceased spouse- meaning that the allocated land will no longer be divided into equal joint and undivided shares but be held exclusively by the surviving spouse*

A commendation of this gender progressive statutory instrument relates to its recognition of the acutely disadvantaged position of women in a polygamous marriage, not only in terms of access to land but also their lack of protection upon the death of their polygamous husband. The legislative is commended for its protection; particularly the junior wives who would have married for the purposes of providing labour. It proceeds to state that:

> *In a polygamous marriage where there are one or more surviving qualifying spouses the rights to land devolve to each existing or surviving spouses with the consequent that the number of equal joint and undivided shares in the allocated land is reduced by one" (S.I. 53 of 2014 Section 13 a, b)*

This statutory provision has seen the protection of widows and widowers from customary eviction by children or relatives of the deceased with attendant welfare outcomes of the surviving spouse(s) and their children. Female land beneficiaries expressly highlighted these sentiments during in-depth interviews:

> *In terms of inheritance in the past, the land was left in the name of the son who may decide to sale the land living the mother with no land. Here, men used to have several wives (polygyny) on the death of the husband the land will be left in the name of the*

eldest son who may not be my biological child. In that case, younger wives will be chased away from the land together with their children to wallow in poverty (In-depth Interview Female A2 Land Beneficiary 15 September 2016).

Now I can leave this land as an inheritance to my children. If she separates with her husband, I can give her a piece of land on my plot to look after her children. A daughter was not entitled to any inheritance, now it is 50/50 with sons (In-depth Interview Female A1 Land Beneficiary 11 May 2016).

Such social transformations ushered by the FTLRP and its accompanying legislative instruments reflect changing gender and cultural norms in resettlement areas. Resultantly, the welfare benefits of accessing land are accruing to many people who, previously, have been traditionally excluded by gender discriminatory social institutions such as inheritance. For a fruitful gender analysis, it is critical to assess the translation of such de jure rights into practice on the ground.

6.7 Transforming Ideologies, Perceptions and Women's and Men's Consciousness

Scott (1986) defines ideology as a system of ideas and ideals, especially concerning economic or political theory and policy" (1986: 1057). The conceptualisation of 'male household heads' is a patriarchal norm-governed social practice with its characterisation of superordinate and subordinate rights to land between men and women forbidding female land ownership (Hillenbrand and Miruka 2019; Apusigah 2009; Gaidzanwa 2011:4). Legitimating ideologies are reinforced by existing gender and social norms such that where a formal law is at odds with an existing social norm; legal changes are unlikely to influence practice. Below are some of the widely held institutional legitimating ideologies against women owning land in Zimbabwe pre-FTLRP:

"Responding in August 1994 to the suggestion by a rural woman that land permits in resettlement areas be registered jointly in the name of spouses, the late former President Robert Mugabe asserted that:

"If women want property (land), they should not get married."

(Cheater and Gaidzanwa 1996:200 cited in Goebel 2005:156).

At a different occasion, the late former Vice-President of Zimbabwe Joseph Msika while he was the Minister for Resettlement responding to a question to women's lack of land rights in Zimbabwe, said at a press conference:

> *"Because I would have my head cut off by men if I gave women land...men would turn against the government. Msika added that giving wives land, or even granting joint titles, would `destroy the family'. (Jacobs 2000).*

Such sentiments, particularly from Heads of States, have much international precedent (Jacobs 2000; see Agarwal 1994:53). Patricia Martin noted that often some gender ideologies had been entwined with the State through which the latter had codified many aspects of unequal gender relations into law. However, institutions are in flux. At times the legitimating ideologies are challenged, and new practices modify past practices. The extent to which the FTLRP was able to transform existing gender ideologies can be exemplified using the Statutory Instrument 53 of 2014. The statutory instrument stipulates that whether one is a joint signatory or not all spouses are regarded as 'Joint Heads of Households' implying equal power and control over allocated resettlement land. The extent to which such statutory promulgations are bringing real changes on the ground ought to be assessed against prevailing perceptions and levels of consciousness among women and men in resettlement areas.

Table 6.2 below shows statistics on women's perceived access to land by marital status; that is, the way married women perceive their access to resettlement land. As shown in the table, within the customary communal areas (the control group), a strong association was found between the two variables. Most women perceive their access to land as mediated through their husband with a Chi-square exact test of significance at p-value .022. This indicates a strong social norm regarding the 'male household head' concept characteristic with customary practices prevailing in these areas.

In the resettlement areas under study, no correlation was found between marital status and women's perceived access to resettlement land. This is a situation pointing to a gradual move away from the customary social norm of wives accessing land through their husbands. A small proportion of women, below 40 percent within the A2 and A1 farming areas indicated their access to resettlement land as mediated through the government. These are most likely to be those who had accessed land in their own right during the FTLRP. In the A2 sector,

76.6 percent of the married women perceived their access to land as mediated through their husbands. In the A1 sector, the figure is pegged at 66.6 percent.

Table 6.2 Women 'Percieved' Access to Land by Marital Status

Mechanism of Access	Husband						Inherited from Husband						Allocated by Government/ Village					
Marital Status	Mkwasine		Maware A1		Muteyo		Mkwasine A2		Maware A1		Muteyo		Mkwasine A2		Maware A1		Muteyo	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Monogamous Marriage	10	31.3	4	12.1	10	25.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	4	12.5	5	15.1	2	5.0
Polygamous Marriage	3	9.4	10	30.3	4	10.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	2.5	0	0.0	2	6.1	0	0.0
Divorced/Single/Separated	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	4	10.0	0	0.0	2	6.1	1	2.5
Widowed	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	5.0	13	40.6	5	15.2	15	37.5	2	6.2	4	12.1	2	5.0
Total	13	40.6	14	42.4	16	40.0	13	40.6	5	15.2	20	50.0	6	18.8	13	39.4	5	12.5
Chi-square Exact Test	Mkwasine A2 Farming Areas .384;						Maware A1 Farming Areas .217;						Muteyo Communal Areas .022					

Table 6.3 Farm Decision- Making by Gender of Household Head

Farm Decision Making		Male Owner		Female Owner		Wife/Husband		Husband & Wife		Son		Manager/Supervisor		Chi-square p-Vale
Gender of Household		No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	
Mkwasine A2 Farmers	Male	7	21.9	0	0.0	1	3.1	2	6.3	1	3.1	4	12.5	.046
	Female	0	0.0	9	28.1	1	3.1	0	0.0	2	6.3	5	15.6	
Maware A1 Farmers	Male	10	30.3	2	6.1	2	6.1	1	3.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	.105
	Female	0	0.0	17	51.5	0	0.0	1	3.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	
Muteyo Communal Areas	Male	7	17.5	6	15.0	5	12.5	3	7.5	0	0.0	-	-	.071
	Female	0	0.0	18	45.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	2.5	-	-	

Table 6.4 Hiring Permanent Labour by Gender of Plot Holder

	Mkwasine A2 Farming Area				Maware A1 Farming Area				Muteyo Communal Farming Area			
	Male		Female		Male		Female		Male		Female	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Hiring Permanent Farm Labour	12	100	20	100	4	26.7	3	16.7	0	0.0	0	0.0
Not Hiring Permanent Farm Labour	0	0.0	0	0.0	11	73.3	15	83.3	18	100	22	100
Chi-square Exact Test p-Value	No statistic (one variable constant)				.261				.083			

This is no significant difference to the perception prevalent in the customary communal areas (the control) pegged at 82.4 percent. This reinforces the prevalence of customary norms and values in resettlement and communal areas, suggesting resistance to change of some social relations and institutions. The above percentages are corroborated by the lived experiences of women captured through in-depth interviews presented above. This emanates from customary law prevailing within the communal areas, where most of the land beneficiaries came from. Most married women perceive their access to land as secondary to that of their husbands. As such the recurring gendered practice of husbands allocating land to their wives is not surprising with the consequent that women are allocated not only smaller pieces but also the least productive land at the margins of the field. This represents one area of social relations and institutions resistant to change as it pertains to the transformation of women and men's consciousness and perceptions.

The centrality of consciousness-raising in feminist theory has been highlighted in feminist scholarship arguing that gender and social norms are internalised into women's and men's consciousness with the latter representing a major systemic challenge to gender transformation (MacKinnon 1982: 519 cited in Chingarande *et al* 2012; Hillenbrand and Miruka 2019: 13; Essof 2013: 45). As pointed out by Bina Agarwal, the complexity of obstacles to enhancing the welfare of women precludes any simple prescriptions (Agarwal 1994: 1470). There is a need for women conscientisation regarding the different laws governing land within communal and resettlement areas and the legal provisions regarding their access to land. Besides, increasing women and men's knowledge about the law, other barriers emanating from lack of protection in divorce, domestic violence, and wish to retain custody of children need to simultaneously attend to. While all these represent areas in need of policy attention, what have been the positive welfare outcomes for those individual women who got access to resettlement land in their own right. Despite the resistance to change of particular social norms, values and practices some positive transformation in social relations were observed in the following areas: rural women economic independence and enhanced household bargaining power; women participating in farm decisions, community structures and formal organisations; changing social status and class and transformation from farm wage labourers (Chambati 2017: 84) to employers.

6.7.1 Participation in Farm Decision-Making a Proxy for Control

Empirical research on the family economy indicates that decision-making in the family is linked to earning power (Hobson 1990). Within agrarian economies, where the control of resources remains male-dominated, this may translate into the exclusion of women from decision-making with the possibility of affecting their access to communal resources (Chiweshe 2015b). The above Table 6.3 presents information about farm decision-making by the gender of the household head. The evidence indicates some mixed results on the association between the two variables within the resettlement study sites. A greater social transformation had occurred in the A1 farming areas where women represented 51.5 percent of the farm decision-makers in addition to 6.1 percent of female in control of farming decisions within MHHs. A weaker association between the two variables as indicated by the Chi-square exact test of significance p-value at.105 confirms this. In the A2 sector, a strong association exist between farm decision-making and gender of the household head. No female is responsible for making farm decisions within A2 MHHs. This has been confirmed by the Chi-square exact test of significance p-value at .046 for the A2 category. This may be attributed to the highly technical and risky nature of the decisions involved in the sugarcane production, including intra-household gender relations an aspect to be revisited in subsequent sections. If farm decision-making can be a proxy indicator of control of productive resources, then the FTLRP have done relatively well in transforming the gender relations within resettled areas, particularly the A1 areas. Even in the case of A2 farms, 28.1 percent females in addition to 15.6 percent who have employed farm managers/supervisors (see Table 6.4 above showing hiring of permanent labour by resettled farmers) are in control of farm decision-making. Evidently, the enhanced female control and farm decision-making are translating into participation in structures beyond the private sphere.

6.7.2 Female Participation in Community Structures and Organisations

Women are traditionally viewed as objects rather than subjects within social, economic and political spheres of life. While their presence may be registered, seldom is their perspective. Such gendered social relations are depicted as essentially unproblematic, yet they underlie women's marginalisation in society with knock-on effects on their welfare. Selection mechanisms into bodies responsible for the enactment and implementation of laws remain male-centric, yet they play a key role in shaping gender ideology (Agarwal 1994: 1457,1458). In contrast to Chiweshe (2015) alluding to women lacking spaces for the agency and their

better ideas not given a chance, findings from this research indicate otherwise. Access to land by women has transformed these institutions in Chiredzi with women taking positions and participating in formerly male-dominated community decision-making structures.

Shown below are female field perspectives regarding decision-making gathered during in-depth interviews:

> *I am a member of the Commercial Sugarcane Farmers Association of Zimbabwe (CSFAZ). There are three women in the executive and eight men. The treasurer is a female, and the other 2 are committee members (In-depth Interview Female A2 Sugarcane Farmer 03 September 2016).*
>
> *I am an executive member of the Mkwasine Sugarcane Farmers Association (MSFA). I am a committee member in the executive committee comprising four males and two females. (Female A2 Sugarcane Farmer Key Informant Interview 28 September 2016).*
>
> *In Labamba, a female farmer chairs the Water Distribution Committee, even though there are more males than females. Men are accepting it very well with no challenge (A1 Male Focus Group Discussion 23 October 2016).*
>
> *Even in village meetings comprising owners of village stands I give my opinion and be heard just like any other village stand owner. In the past, men would say we want the stand owner to speak. Now when l stands up to speak, they would listen to saying she is speaking because she is an owner of a village stands here. As such, our ideas and suggestions are also considered as stand owners (In-depth Interview A1 Female Beneficiary Land Own Name 08 May 2016).*

Such democratisation of decision-making spaces is evidenced by the female presence in local decision-making bodies, including farmer associations and local committees where they are assuming leading positions. Such institutional transformations bolster the social positions of rural women and have a bearing on decisions reached in such structures. Ideologically, women are likely to take their grievances to a body with female representations than to all-male bodies (Agarwal 2003: 147). The above transformation is coupled with a transformation from mere providers of labour on commercial plots owned by husbands (Cheater 1981:357) or farm wage labourers to employers in their own right as a result of the FTLRP (see Chambati 2017: 84).

6.7.3 Transformation from Farm Labourers to Employers

Not only are female land beneficiaries co-identified as farmers together with male land beneficiaries, but Table 6.4 also illustrate that female farmers are now employers in their own rights. No statistic could be calculated to test the significance of the correlation between hiring labour and gender of household in the A2 farming sector as all households, including FHHs permanently employ not only females but also male workers. In the A1 farming areas, no significant relationship was found between the two variables. Within this farming category 9.1 percent of female farmers have engaged permanent workers relative to 12.1 percent for male farmers. This contrasts with the fact that females represent the largest percentages of farm labourers (Chambati 2017: 84; USAID 2016).

Below are some field experiences from female agricultural employers as captured during in-depth interviews with women land beneficiaries:

> *After harvesting, I work out my workers' wages until the next harvest and put it aside. On a monthly basis, I would withdraw my workers' wages and pay them. Not a month passes without paying my workers (In-depth Interview Female A2 Sugarcane Farmer 19 September 2016).*

> *I ensure that l buys my fertilisers, put aside workers' wages and protective clothing, farm tools such as hoes. I put a small amount to hire labour for trashing and other tasks (In-depth Interview Female A2 Sugarcane Farmer 14 September 2016).*

> *Firstly, I put aside wages for my workers. This is my priority. I also put aside money for hiring labour. I buy new protective clothing for my workers (In-depth Interview Female A2 Sugarcane Farmer 15 September 2016).*

As highlighted in the in-depth interviews, female sugarcane farmers' priority is their workers' wages, protective clothing and production inputs such as fertilisers. During informal conversations, few female farmers were reported not paying workers' wages compared to male farmers. This had earned female farmers 'employers of choice' status within the sugarcane farming area with positive farm productivity and household welfare outcomes. Not only had this earned them 'the better employer status' but also transformed their social standing not only in their families but also in society at large.

6.7.4 The FTLRP and Women's Social Identity and Class

Social "institutions are not only external to individuals but become internalised as group members" experience with and in them incorporating the institutions into their identities and selves (Martin 2004:m1257). Research had indicated how gendered land ownership led Ghanaian women to self-identify "as 'wives' rather than 'farmers' even though they grow food on their husband's cocoa plantations" (Amanor-Wilks 2009: 29). Relatedly, the class position of women is assumed to "belong to the class of their husbands or fathers", as females' social class is more susceptible "to change than that of a man. A well-placed marriage can raise it, divorce or widowhood can lower it" (Agarwal 1994: 1458). Women's lack of property ownership despite residing in propertied households makes it difficult to categorise women's class position. Similarly, state laws can enhance or denigrate the status of women in society. As discussed earlier, in Zimbabwe, colonial customary laws relegated "women's status as basically the same as that of a junior male in the family." As such, laws can "create gender inequality when they lend the State authority to gender institutional practices confining women to an inferior status as citizens and workers" (Ranchod-Nilsson 2006: 49).

During the FTLRP, following mobilisation by women movement organisation, the state responded by enhancing women's rights and opportunities in land. Unlike the land reforms of the 1980s, which made men a 'new class' of landowners, the latest land reform in Zimbabwe witnessed the significant social transformation, as women are now 'holders of land' with positive implications on their social identity and standing. Access to land saw women ascending the social ladder, enhancing their individual and household welfare. Many women now identify themselves as 'farmers' just as their male counterpart with implications for gender equality in the studied resettlement areas. Below are some of the field experiences of the FTLRP beneficiaries:

> *Now, as I move around, people will be saying 'mai avo murimi' that woman is a 'sugarcane farmer'. I feel equal to men just because we all have land. When speaking, we speak the same language on farming and on equal footing. Even on household welfare, if we all depend on the land for welfare, I feel as equals or even surpassing some men. Women used to wait outside the bank to be given some money by their husbands. Now we are all entering banking halls asking whether revenues are*

reflecting on bank statements with all status and confidence (In-depth Interview Female A2 Sugarcane Farmer 14 September 2016).

Access to land has transformed my social status. I cannot compare myself with my working colleagues here with any land. There is a difference. I can afford to send my child to an expensive university or boarding school or out of the country because l had access to land. My work colleagues cannot afford even to send one child to boarding school, yet I can afford to have 3 children in boarding school at a given time. Something l could not have afforded based on my salary as a nurse (In-depth Interview Female A2 Sugarcane Farmer 15 September 2016).

Just because the land is in my name, it had raised my social status. Whatever I do, l feel recognised and respected. Now I can also make decisions on the farm. In the community, there are still challenges in the attitudes of some men. Some would make denigratory comments to my husband "unganyoresa mukadzi pamunda?" How can a man register a piece of land in the name of a wife? (In-depth Interview Married Female A1 Farmers Land in Own Name 03 May 2016).

Access to land had transformed the identity and social status of the land beneficiaries including women, although a more systemic change in cultural norms, attitudes, beliefs, values and practices is needed (see Figure 4.2). The social transformations were also attended with enhanced welfare outcomes for FHHs relative to MHHs.

6.7.5 Economic Independence, Bargaining, Distributional Conflict and Welfare

Related to the preceding discussion is bargaining power, which, according to Quisumbing and Maluccio "determines the share of resources allocated to an individual within the household" (2000:17). Bargaining power is affected by a set of determinants, including control over economic resources or assets; in agrarian societies, land is of prime importance. The literature on bargaining power highlights that government policy has the potential to affect the intra-household distribution of resources and can be used as candidate proxies for bargaining power. As the FTLRP saw the transfer of land to women as well as men, it has affected household bargaining power for female land beneficiaries as suggested from field experiences:

After harvesting l call my husband and tell him this is the money l got from my crop since he is there. Then I tell him what I am to buy using the money, which he cannot

contradict. If I want to give him some money I can but not necessarily having control over the money (In-depth Interview Married Female Permit Own Name).

When l get money, l can decide to go and deposit it at the bank, and I may decide what I want to buy or to construct a house; no one can prevent me from doing so (In-depth Interview Married Female Permit Own Name).

As women, we have challenges in that the crops we are growing here are all under the control of the husband. There is no single crop l can grow, saying this is my own crop. I would have wanted to have a crop I can grow which is mine or having my own project such as poultry which l can call mine (In-depth Interview Polygamous Married A1 Land Beneficiary 09 May 2016).

As suggested in the literature (Quisumbing and Maluccio 2000), for those married women who got land in their own name their household bargaining power has been significantly bolstered. The situation is not the same for those women whose land is registered in the name of the husband, particularly so for women in polygamous marriages. Despite the alluded joint ownership in S.I 53 of 2014 having land in one's name provides leverage in female economic independence and household bargaining power. As a result of these challenges women desire to have their own plots,

We wish we could have plots of our own….

It is good for women to have their own plots where they can grow crops on their own… (Female FDG A1 Farmers 24 October 2016).

To any extent and for some women, the FTLRP has liberated them from economic dependence as access to land provides opportunities for women to earn their own cash as highlighted below.

The government resettlement programme enabled women to be economically independent. Now I have my own bank account where l can deposit or withdraw money, something that I did not prior to accessing land. So, I am now economically independent (In-depth Interview Monica Magumura 10 May 2016)

The programme liberated me from dependency on the husband. At all times, my wallet will be having some cash. In the past, l had to depend on the husband. I would tell him I got my money and I am planning to use it on this and that. I have bought my own cattle from the farm proceeds (In-depth Interview Eugenia Nhongo 07 May 2016).

The literature on gender and social policy indicated a close association between women's access to paid work with economic independence and enhanced bargaining power within the

household (England and Kilbourne 1990). Similarly, within agrarian societies enhancing the productive capacities of women through access to land can play a transformative role as it affects power and dependence dynamics within households. As argued by Cheater (1982: 85), the groundnuts plot (tseu) and the vegetable gardens cannot provide any substantive economic independence. Access to own plots is central to women's economic independence, the realisation of their socio-economic rights, and the mitigation and/or prevention of dependence. As empirical evidence from the study sites suggests, access to land had enabled women to move from producing for use-value to producing for exchange value. The FTLRP had enabled women to engage in exchange relations and have their own-income with positive individual and household welfare outcomes relative to men.

6.8 Conclusion

The chapter highlighted that the transformation of social relations and institutions, particularly that of gender with its varied and complex dimensions preclude any simple prescription on how it can be attained. For tangible results, transformation has to occur not only in one but multiple spheres from micro to macro levels. While the FTLRP had, notably, transformed some aspects and dimensions of gender to different degrees and extents, this has not been with some contradictions, particularly in the context of marriage. Evidence presented indicates that there are many areas where real transformation is yet to be realised with negative implications on the welfare of women in relation to men. Foremost, relate to the transformation of women and men's consciousness regarding access to resettlement land. It is also important to acknowledge some of the observed social and economic outcomes resulting from the little transformation in gender relations with regard to land in Zimbabwe. The next chapter focuses on the extent to which the gender transformation enabling access to land for women has provided protection from socio-economic vulnerabilities for female relative to male-headed households.

Chapter Seven

Land Reforms and Social Protection: A Gender Perspective

7.0 Introduction

Before a discussion of land reform as a social protection tool, I outline the demographic, social and economic characteristics of the study population, in both resettled and communal study areas, that are potential socio-economic risk factors. This is meant to illuminate the extent to which access to land cushions against these risks for land beneficiaries' vis-à-vis the non-land beneficiaries. The next section that follows adopts household food security as a proxy indicator for individual and household welfare to discuss the extent to which access to land had enhanced the food security situation of land reform households relative to non-land reform households. Some food security indicators including household food shortages; the household's primary source of food; the number of meals per day; household dietary diversity and household cultivable land size are used to assess the household food security situation of land reform vis-à-vis non-land reform households. The chapter concludes by comparing the accumulation of livestock by resettled farmers (including female-headed households) and a discussion on women's savings clubs. The latter is considered an outcome of enhanced incomes and secures access to land for resettled farmers. I weave a gender perspective through the discussions.

7.1 Study Population Socio-economic and Demographic Risk Factors

A read-through the definitions of social protection highlights the social protection role of social policies against economic, social and demographic risk factors including old age, unemployment, death of a breadwinner, among other contingencies such as sickness and disability (World Bank 2001; UNICEF 2008; Bonilla and Gruat 2003). Table 7.1 below presents the socio-economic and demographic risk factors of the study population. A closer analysis of the demographic characteristics of the study population presented in Table 7.1 reveals generally high socio-economic vulnerabilities in the study areas, particularly with access to food.

Table 7.1 Study Populations Socio-Economic and Demographic Risk Factors by Farming Sector and Gender of Household Head

	MKWASINE A2 FARMS						MAWARE A1 FARMS						MUTEYO COMMUNAL AREAS					
	Male		Female		Total		Male		Female		Total		Male		Female		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
A. Age																		
Below 35 years	1	3.1	0	0.0	1	3.1	2	6.1	1	3.0	3	9.1	1	2.5	0	0.0	1	2.5
36-49 years	3	9.4	11	34.4	14	43.8	7	21.2	9	27.3	16	48.5	5	12.5	8	20.0	13	32.5
50-60 years	8	25.0	8	25.0	16	50.0	5	15.2	5	15.2	10	30.4	9	22.5	9	22.5	18	45.0
61+ years	0	0.0	1	3.1	1	3.1	1	3.0	3	9.1	4	12.1	3	7.5	5	12.5	8	20.0
Average Age		48.8		48.8		48.8		45.5		52.2		48.1		52.6		54.0		53.2
B. Marital Status																		
Married Monogamous	9	28.1	5	15.6	14	43.8	4	12.1	5	15.1	9	27.2	10	25.0	1	2.5	11	27.5
Married Polygamous	3	9.4	0	0.0	3	9.4	11	33.3	2	6.1	13	39.4	5	12.5	0	0.0	5	12.5
Divorced/Single/Separate	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	6.1	2	6.1	0	0.0	5	12.5	5	12.5
Widowed	0	0.0	15	46.9	15	46.9	0	0.0	9	27.3	9	27.3	0	0.0	19	47.5	19	47.5
C. Education Status																		
No Formal Education	2	6.2	4	12.6	6	18.7	4	12.1	6	18.2	10	30.3	6	15.0	13	32.5	19	47.5
Completed Pri. Education	1	3.1	8	25.1	9	28.2	8	24.3	10	30.3	18	54.5	8	20.0	8	20.0	15	40.0
Completed Sec. Education	7	21.9	3	9.4	10	31.3	3	9.1	1	3.0	4	12.1	4	10.0	1	2.5	5	12.5
Post-Secondary Education	2	6.2	5	15.7	4	22.9	0	0.0	1	3.0	1	3.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
D. Household Size																		
6 Members and Below	2	6.3	8	25.0	10	31.3	3	9.1	6	18.2	9	27.3	2	5.0	5	12.5	7	17.5
7 Members and Above	10	31.3	12	37.5	22	68.8	12	36.4	12	36.4	24	72.7	16	40.0	17	42.5	33	82.5
Average Family Size					7.9						9.4						7.8	
Min/Max Family Size					4/13						4/42						3/14	
E. Employment Status																		
Professionally Employed	4	12.5	5	15.6	9	28.1	0	0.0	1	3.0	1	3.0	0	0.0	1	2.5	1	2.5
Not Professionally Employed	8	25.0	15	46.9	23	71.9	15	45.5	17	51.5	32	97.0	18	45.0	21	52.5	39	97.5

Source: Field Notes

The selected demographic risk factors incorporated within the Chapter's discussion include; age of household head; marital; educational and employment status. This is in addition to household size, an important demographic factor, particularly in the resettled areas. While it cannot be assumed in all cases that the person heading the household plays a greater role in defining the household than any members of the household, this demographic descriptor remains particularly important as the head of household had command over household assets including land. In Table 7.1 above, over half of the heads of households in the A2 and the communal farming areas were aged 50 years and above (the base year 2016) with 53.1 percent and 65.0 percent, respectively. In the A1 farming areas, 42.5 percent of the heads of households are aged 50 and above. The mean age across the study sites were 48.8 years, 53.3 years and 48.1 years for A2, A1 and Communal areas, respectively. This demographic variable is biased towards FHHs, who recorded a higher average age above 50 years, particularly in the A1 and the communal regions, as shown in the table above.

Another important variable to form part of the discussion in this chapter relates to the marital status of the head of household. Research has documented a close association between "female-supported households—those supported solely by women's earnings—with poverty" (Kabeer 2015: 192; see also Babatunde *et al.* 2008; Kassie *et al.* 2012; Ndobo & Sekhampu 2013). In the study population, these households constitute 46.9 percent and 60.0 percent in the A2 and communal farming areas, respectively. Similarly, the percentage is relatively lower in the A1 farming areas where they constitute a third of the participating households. This reflects a potentially high socio-economic vulnerability, as households headed by divorced, separated, and widowed persons are over-represented in the study population.

Research has found a correlation between education status and one's individual and/or household welfare (Kassie *et al.* 2012; Abafita *et al.* 2014; Bashir *et al.* 2012). In this study the educational status of the head of household was measured in terms of the latter's years of schooling. As shown in the table above, a relatively high percentage of study participants had no formal education in exception of the A2 farming areas with a figure at 18.7 percent. Close to a third and almost half of the study participants in the A1 and the communal regions, respectively, possess no formal education. A gender analysis reveals that the educational status of female heads of households is lower relative to their male counterparts. This suggests a high socio-economic risk factor not only for the study population as a whole but also of FHHs in particular.

Among the several socio-economic and demographic risk factors displayed in Table 7.1 found to be a significant predictor of household welfare, particularly food security is the size of the household (Ndobo *et al.* 2013: 316). This, in some land reforms, had determined whether land is allotted per householder or per capita members of the household (see El-Ghonemy 1990: 96). Nevertheless, the study population is characterised by a relatively high family size across the three study sites. Households with seven members and above are 68.8 percent, 72.7 percent and 82.5 percent in A2, A1 and communal areas, respectively. Average family sizes are pegged at 7.9 members, 9.4 members and 7.8 members accordingly. These figures are higher than the national average, pegged at 4.2 persons per household (ZimStat 2016: ix). Such relatively large family sizes pose a socio-economic risk factor as research has found an inverse relationship between family size and household welfare, particularly food security (Bashir *et al.* 2012). Additionally, almost all of the study participants in the A1 and communal areas are engaged in farming as their source of livelihood, except in the A2 farming areas where the 28.1 percent of the respondents indicate that they are in professional employment. The guiding research question in the chapter relates to the extent to which access to land is acting as a buffer for resettled farmers contrasted to the control group in the communal areas with a gender lens infused in the discussions. To frame the discussion, some selected household welfare proxy indicators were used as dependent variables mediated by access to land as an independent variable for A1 and A2 households. The selected household welfare proxy indicators were then benchmarked against a control group made up of communal non-land reform beneficiaries' households to measure the effect of land reform on smallholder household welfare. In all cases, gender is incorporated as an intervening variable to ascertain the social protection and welfare effects of the FTLRP for FHHs relative to MHHs across the three study sites.

7.2 Household Food Security a Proxy for Household Welfare

Based on the widely recognised definition by scholars and policymakers of "food security as access by all people to enough food to live a healthy and productive life", Pinstrup-Andersen (2009) proposes food security as a proxy for household and individual welfare. Accordingly, this study adopts Pinstrup-Andersen (2009) proposition, to conceptualise efforts to affect household food security as playing a social protection (welfare) function. Tables 7.2 and 7.3 below will guide the preceding discussion on the social protection function of land reform as a social policy instrument.

Table 7.2 Selected Household Food Security Proxy Indicators

		Mkwasine A2 Farming Areas						Maware A1 Farming Areas						Muteyo Communal Areas (Control)					
		Male		Female		Total		Male		Female		Total		Male		Female		Total	
		No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Household Food Shortage	**Yes**	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	10.0	1	7.7	3	9.1	17	81.0	16	84.2	33	82.5
	No	15	100	17	100	32	100	18	90.0	12	92.3	30	90.9	4	19.0	3	15.8	7	17.5
Main Sources of Food (Grain)																			
Own Production		4	26.7	4	23.5	8	25.0	20	100.0	13	100.0	33	100	1	4.8	1	5.3	2	5.0*
Purchases		11	73.3	13	76.5	24	75.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	5	23.8	5	12.5	10	25.0*
Safety Net/Food Aid/Work for food		0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	15	71.4	13	68.4	28	70.0*
No. of Meals per Day																			
Twice per Day		2	13.3	7	41.2	9	28.1	5	25.0	4	30.8	9	27.3	14	66.7	12	63.2	26	65.0
Thrice per Day		13	86.7	10	58.8	23	71.9	15	75	9	69.2	24	72.7	7	33.3	7	36.8	14	35.0
Dietary Diversity Weekly																			
Beef/Chicken Consumption		15	100	16	94.1	31	96.9	18	90.0	10	76.9	28	84.8	7	33.3	4	21.1	11	27.5
No Beef/Chicken Consumption		0	0.0	1	5.9	1	3.1	2	10.0	3	23.1	5	15.2	14	66.7	15	78.9	29	72.5
Egg Consumption		9	60.0	12	70.6	21	65.7	11	55.0	9	69.2	20	60.6	1	4.8	1	5.3	2	5.0
No Egg Consumption		6	40.0	5	29.4	11	34.3	9	45.0	4	30.8	13	39.4	20	95.2	18	94.7	38	95.0

Source * households reporting more than one main source of food grain.

Table 7.3 Chi-Square Exact Test of Significance

Household Food Security Indicator	Chi-Square Test of Exact P-Values or Significance Level		
	Gender of Household Head*	Household Cultivable Land Size (Ha)	Marital Status
Household Food Shortage (2015/15 Season)	1.0	0.03	.015
Number of Meals Per Day	3.51	0.43	.001
Household Main Source of Food	.95	0.01	.018
Dietary Diversity	.22	0.01	.006

Source Fieldwork 2016 * tests of significance regardless of land reform

Table 7.2 present household food security indicators as dependent row variables (household food shortage; the number of meals per day; household dietary diversity and main household sources of food) against the three study sites (A1 and A2 land reform beneficiary groups and the communal non-land reform beneficiary control group) as the independent primary column variables. Table 7.3 present a contingency table of correlations between the selected household food security proxy indicators first by gender regardless of land reform; household cultivable land size (land reform) and lastly by marital status. What the tests show is that none of the relationships between the household food security indicators and gender of the household is statistically significant. All of them are higher than 0.05. The implication is that gender is not a significant explanatory variable in the disparities in household food security of FHHs compared with MHHs, *if not* mediated by land reform, as shall be illustrated.

7.2.1 Household Food Shortage a Proxy for Household Food Security Status

An analysis of the percentages presented in Table 7.2 above indicates that 82.5 percent of households within the control group experienced food shortages in the season in question. A gendered analysis within this study area suggests no relationship between household food shortage and gender of the household head with percentages at 80.1 percent and 84.2 percent of MHHs and FHHs having faced food shortages in the 2015/16 season. The slight difference by gender of household nullifies gender as a significant explanatory variable to household food insecurity in the absence of land reform as both households are equally vulnerable. This is confirmed by the Chi-square Exact Test of significance at a p-value of 1.0, suggesting no association between household food shortage and gender of household head in the control group (see Table 7.3 above). This contradicts the findings from several studies in Kenya, Nigeria and South Africa, among others, that suggest gender-based household vulnerability to food insecurity (see Babatunde *et al.* 2008; and Amaza *et al.* 2006:10; Kassie *et al.* 2012; Ndobo and Sekhampu 2013).

While no statistically significant relationship was found between the number of meals per day and household cultivable land size at 0.43, an association was found between the latter and the rest of the household food security indicators. The correlations were 0.03 for household food shortage, 0.01 for both household main source of food and household dietary diversity. This may suggest that the gender of head of households matters less than the marital status of the head of household and the amount of cultivable land available to a household, it may point to the intersectionality of gender and marital status of heads of households. This is an

interesting area for further research. Table 7.4 below shows percentages of households that faced food shortages during the 2014/16 seasons by marital status across the three study sites.

Table 7.4 Households Faced Food Shortages by Marital Status 2015/16 Season

Study Area			% Total				Total
			MGM	PLG	DSS	WD	
Mkwasine A2 Farms	Faced Food Shortage	No	100	100	100	100	100
Maware A1 Farms	Faced Food Shortage	Yes	11.1	7.7	50.0	0.0	9.1
		No	88.9	92.3	50.0	100	90.9
Muteyo Communal Areas	Faced Food Shortage	Yes	72.7	60.0	60.0	89.5	82.5
		No	16.3	40.0	40.0	10.5	17.5
Chi-Square Test of Exact P-Value or Level of Significance .015							

Source: Key MGM- monogamous marriage; PLG- polygamous marriage; DSS- divorced, single, separated; WD- widow

Taking widows (female-supported households) as a 'test case', this category of women constituted 89.5 percent of the households that experienced household food shortage in the control group (Muteyo communal lands). This makes marital status an important explanatory variable to disparities observed in household food shortage in the control group. The observation was confirmed by a Chi-square exact test of significance level at p-value.015, suggesting a strong association between the two variables (see Table 7.3 above). This is, of course, despite a generally high household vulnerability to food shortages in the study population.

Gender becomes an important variable when mediated by land reform, that is, making a comparison between the land reform and control groups. Mere 9.1 percent of A1 households experienced household food shortage and none in the A2 benchmarked with 82.5 percent in the control group. A gender analysis within FHHs categories reveals that a mere 7.7 percent faced household food shortages in the 2015/16 season compared to 84.2 percent in the communal non-land reform control group and none within the A2 farming households. Such a within category analysis reveals the importance of land reform in mediating gender based vulnerabilities for rural households. Below are women's experiences concerning household food shortage captured during in-depth interviews,

> *The land we had in the communal areas was not enough to grow enough food to feed my children. But now we have large pieces of land where l can grow enough food to feed my family. We have three meals per day in my household. I leave one tonne of maize for household consumption and sell around 2 tonnes. (In-depth Interview Female A1 Land Beneficiary 08 May 2016).*

Now my household is food secure throughout the year. There is no time when I do not have cooking oil, sugar or rice. After harvesting, we leave 4 tonnes for food for household consumption. We have 3 meals per day, and this does not change throughout the year. This has been enabled through access to land (In-depth Interview Female Polygamous Married A1 Land Beneficiary 09 May 2016)

After harvesting l leave 1.5 tonnes of maize for household consumption. In my household, we have three meals per day. The number of meals does not decrease throughout the year (In-depth Interview Female Polygamous Married A1 Land Beneficiary 07 May 2016).

Most of these households in the A1 farming areas indicated producing more grain for exchange than use-value to satisfy their household needs.

After harvesting l sell more than what I retain as food…... I usually leave one tonne for consumption and hiring labour. I have 3 meals per day throughout the year (In-depth interview Widowed A1 Female Land Beneficiary 11 May 2016)

On our produce, we retain a smaller percentage than what market. We sell 75 percent and retain 25 percent every harvest. We leave a small produce for consumption enough for only three months because we will be harvesting again (In-depth Interview Female Monogamous Married A1 Land Beneficiary 14 May 2016)

My household is food secure. I sell more grain than l reserve for household consumption. We have three meals a day, and this does not change throughout the year. My relatives from the communal areas come here and obtain grain to feed their families (In-depth Interview Female Married A1 Permit Own Name 09 May 2016)

On harvesting, I sell more grain than I retain for household consumption. I have 3 meals a day throughout the year. We have many food items to cook such as potatoes, sweet potatoes, green maize and other food items (In-depth Interview Divorced Female A1 Land Beneficiary 11 May 2016)

The experiences of women as they were narrated during the in-depth interview, particularly in the A1 farming areas, reflect the relative importance of own production over purchases or other sources of food. This indicates enhanced household command over food (El-Ghonemy 1990: 18), including widow-supported households as none reported facing food shortages in the season in question. Already this points to one of the substantial aspect/findings of the study that command over food is one major consequence of land reform (see El-Ghonemy 1990) with positive welfare effects (social protection) on its beneficiaries, especially women.

7.2.2 Household Main Sources of Food a Proxy for Household Food Security

A close analysis of Table 7.3 above, reveal a statistically significant correlation between the household main source of food and available cultivable land size with a Chi-square exact test of significance at p-value 0.01. Such a strong association is confirmed by statistics shown in Table 7.2 and the in-depth interviews with women land beneficiaries quoted above. In the A1 farming areas all households, including FHHs, indicated land as their main source of food. This supports the view that access to land serves as a source and means of producing cheaper food with more profound effect on household welfare through ensuring the security of food supply by own production (Abafita *et al.* 2014; El-Ghonemy 1990: 105). In addition, Chiweshe (2015: 50) argues that food security for rural households is dependent on their ability to produce, which in turn depends on access to productive resources such as land. This contrast markedly with a mere 5 percent reporting land as their main source of food in the control group with the majority households relying more on food aid or work for food and purchases. The latter represents the high vulnerability of non-land reform households to the power of grain traders or imperfect market mechanisms for their supply of food (El-Ghonemy 1990: 106).

The control group is characterised by a multiplicity of sources of food grain compared to the A1 areas as households supplement one source with another; an indicator not only for the lack of security of supply but also command over food (Kassie *et al.* 2012: 4; El-Ghonemy 1990: 105). Despite poor household incomes in the control group, 25 percent of the households reported purchase as one of their main sources of food. A gender analysis of households depending on purchase reveals a lower percent for FHHs relative to MHHs with figures at 12.5 percent and 23.8 percent respectively. This indicates the economic power of MHHs relative to FHHs and my assertion that access to land is particularly more important to FHHs in securing their household welfare and wellbeing. Additionally, the high vulnerability of households in this category to food insecurity is reflected in the number of households reporting food safety nets or work for food as one of their main source of food grain at 70.0 percent. This not only reflects the vulnerability of households in the control group. It also indicates the cushioning effect of access to land for A1 land beneficiary, especially FHHs as none reported food aid as their source of grain.

An interesting finding on the effect of land reform on one of the pillars of food security is evident in the A2 category. A relatively lower percentage at 25 percent, similar to the control

group, reported own production as the main source of food. Paradoxically, in the A2 sector, such a low percentage did not translate into household food insecurity, as was the case in the control. What the study confirms in the A2 category is that households only become food insecure when they cannot produce enough food (access to land) AND lack the financial resources to purchase food from the market. The A2 case highlights the 'access' pillar of household food security in which the focus on cash crop production is enabling them to secure their food needs from the money they get from commercial agriculture. Based on these findings, one can conclude that in Chiredzi production of own-food as a proxy for household food security is more relevant to A1 and CA farmers than the A2 farmers. Where households cannot produce for own-consumption access to adequate incomes to purchase food equally contribute to household food security. Three-quarters of households reported purchase as their primary source of food, including FHHs. This has been well captured during the in-depth interviews with the A2 land beneficiaries themselves:

> *I buy my groceries in bulk and stock. When l get money, l buy a beast and put my meat in the fridge. The other remaining beef l would sell to others. I have at least three meals a day. As part of my meals, there is beef, fish, milk, polonies, salad and so on (Mrs Chauke A2 Farmer In-depth Interview Female A2 Female Land Beneficiary 17 September 2016)*
>
> *After selling my sugarcane l buy 2 tonnes of maize and my household is food secure. When I used to get into a supermarket, I wished for apples but could not afford them. Now I can buy apples, grapes for my children as much as l would want. I buy beef, chicken, goat meat, sausages and put in the fridge (In-depth Interview Female A2 Sugarcane Farmer 03 September 2016)*
>
> *I include on my budget food for the family for the whole year. When we first came, we ate whatever we liked now we have actually reduced as a sign of living pretty. The kind of food has drastically changed. Now we can have breakfast with eggs (In-depth Interview Female A2 Female Land Beneficiary 20 September 2016).*

This is notwithstanding that 25 percent of A2 households reporting own-production as one of their main sources of food. Reflecting the agency of women, field observations indicated that some FHHs had curved out portions within their sugarcane plots to cultivate food crops as reflected in some in-depth interviews with female A2 sugarcane farmers:

> *Within my field l have a portion where l am growing maize for household consumption. In the past before land reform maize growing was not permitted by the*

Estate. I also sell to my workers the maize on credit. (In-depth Interview Female Widowed A2 Land Beneficiary 16 September 2016).

On part of my field I planted one hectare of maize and got 6 tonnes of maize. With the current drought my relatives from my extended family come here to get maize for food (In-depth Interview Female Widowed A2 Female Land Beneficiary 19 September 2016)

This has been facilitated by access to productive water coupled with rich vertosols characteristic of Chiredzi District. Field observation indicated that female A2 farmers are not only growing maize but also vegetable crops as tomatoes, potatoes onions, among others, on these smaller plots enhancing their household food/nutrition security and welfare. However, before the FTLRP as gathered through in-depth interviews, the cultivation food crops within sugar plots were prohibited.

7.2.3 Meals per Day and Dietary Diversity as Proxies for Household Food Security

Dietary diversity, a reflection of the nutritional quality of food consumed within a household, together with the number of meals per day are key indicators of household food security and welfare (Smith and Subandoro 2007 cited in Dzanku 2015: 138). While some studies employ a variety of crops grown as a proxy for dietary diversity, this study used the weekly recall method in which participants report the variety of foodstuffs consumed during the past week to capture dietary diversity. Chi-square exact test of significance shown in Table 7.3 above suggests no strong association between household cultivable land size and the number of meals per day with a p-value of .43. However, percentages illustrated in Table 7.2 indicate that 71.9 percent of the A2 farming households and 72.7 percent of A1 farming households reported three meals a day in contrast to only 35.0 percent in the control group. The remaining 65.0 percent in the control group had reduced meals as a coping mechanism to household food shortages. This point to lower household welfare within the control group compared to land reform beneficiary households.

Details on dietary diversity provide a more nuanced depiction of the welfare disparities within and between the study areas. In terms of beef/chicken consumption, 96.9 percent of A2 farming households and 84.8 percent of A1 farming households reported consuming either beef or chicken in the preceding reporting week, in contrast with 27.5 percent in the control group. Moving on to the consumption of eggs, 65.7 percent of A2 farming households

and 60.6 percent of A1 farming households reported consuming either eggs or fish in the previous week. A gendered analysis reveals FHHs as having better nutritional welfare in terms of dietary diversity relative to MHHs. In the A2 farming areas within FHHs 65 percent reported consuming eggs per week relative to 60 percent within MHHs. In the A1 farming areas, the figures are 69.2 percent to 55 percent, respectively. This is in stark contrast to the nutritional welfare obtaining in the control group where only 5 percent reported consumption of fish or eggs in the previous week, suggesting nutritional vulnerability in the study area. The great disparities between resettled farmers and the control group undeniably qualify land reform as a tool for achieving nutritional welfare objective within agrarian societies than any other instrument (Yi 2015:4). Similar findings have been made in sugarcane growing areas in Zambia where FHHs appeared to be more secured in terms of nutritional welfare in which they were able to consume foods such as beef, fish and potatoes while MHHs experienced fluctuations (Mujenga and Wonaci 2012). Table 7.3 indicates a strong association between dietary diversity; the number of meals per day and marital status with Chi-square exact test significance p-value of.006 and p-value.01 respectively. Table 7.5 below displays the distribution of these two household food security indicators against the marital status of head of household.

Table 7.5 No Meat Intake; Meals per Day by Marital Status of Household Head

H/Hold Food Variable	Study Area	MGM	PGM	SS	WD	Total	X^2 Test Sig.
No Meat Intake	Mkwasine A2 farms	-	-	-	3.1	3.1	.001
	Maware A1 farms	3.1	6.1	3.0	3.0	15.1	
	Muteyo Communal	17.5	10.5	7.5	37.5	73.0	
Number of Meals per Day (Twice)	Mkwasine A2 Farms	3.1	3.1	-	21.9	28.1	.006
	Maware A1 farms	6.1	9.1	6.1	6.1	27.3	
	Muteyo Communal	12.5	12.5	5.0	35.0	65.0	

Source: Key MGM- monogamous marriage; PLG- polygamous marriage; DSS- divorced, single, separated; WD- widow

In the control group, on all the household food security proxy indicators under consideration, widow-headed households constitute over half of the vulnerable households. Out of the 73 percent of households reporting not taking meat in their weekly reporting, over half of them are widow-headed households at 37.5 percent. Similarly, with 65 percent of households taking two meals per day, over half of them at 35 percent are widow-headed. This reflects the vulnerability of this sub-group of FHHs relative to other household categories in the control group. The positive welfare effect (household food and nutrition security) of land reform is demonstrated within the land beneficiary group of resettled households. Only 3.1 percent and

15.1 percent of households that reported non-protein intake in the A2 and A1 farming areas respectively are widow-headed, and less than 30 percent reported taking two meals or less per day. Below are some women's voices regarding household dietary diversity captured during in-depth interviews:

> *What my household ate while my husband was still alive has not changed because of the land we got. We ate fish, beef, bread, milk, margarine, eggs, and rice, and so on. So, there is no change. So, my household is always food secure. We have 3 meals a day and this does not fluctuate in the course of the year. We obtain milk from our livestock, vegetables from the garden and so on (In-depth Interview Female Widowed A1 Land Beneficiary 09 May 2016)*

> *My household cannot be classified together with food-insecure households. Looking in the past we could have tea without milk and spend the whole week eating sadza and vegetables only. Now I can afford beef, chicken, fish whatever we feel like wanting that particular day (In-depth Interview Female A2 Land Beneficiary 17 September 2016)*

> *We can now have eggs, sausages, chicken, fish, and so on. In the past, we could not manage (In-depth Interview Female A2 Land Beneficiary 16 September 2016)*

While a smaller number of households reported 2 meals per day in both the A1 and A2 farming areas, the cushioning effect of land reform against household food insecurity and low nutritional welfare as discussed in the proceeding section, cannot the denied.

7.2.4 Household Cultivable Land Size a Predictor of Food Security and Welfare

Amount of cultivable land available to a household has a strong association to a household command over food (see El-Ghonemy 1990: 105). Table 7.3 above showed a strong association between household cultivable land size and all the household food security proxy indicators except the number of meals per day.

Table 7.6 FTLRP Land Transfers and Household Cultivable Land Size (Ha) by Gender of Plot Holder

	Mkwasine A2 Areas						Maware A1 Areas						Muteyo Communal Areas					
	Male		Female		Total		Male		Female		Total		Male		Female		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Land Size (Ha)																		
3 Ha and Below	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	14	35.0	17	42.5	31	77.5
4-5 Ha	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	4	10.0	5	12.5	9	22.5
6-10 Ha	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	7	21.2	11	33.3	18	54.5	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
11-15 Ha	2	6.3	1	3.1	3	9.4	5	15.2	4	12.1	9	27.	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
16-20 Ha	5	15.6	9	28.1	14	43.8	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
21-25 ha	2	6.3	6	18.8	8	25.0	0	0.0	1	3.0	1	3.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Above 25 Ha	3	9.4	4	12.5	7	21.9	3	9.1	2	6.1	5	15.2	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Chi-Square P-Value					1.727						1.943						.001	
Per Capita Land Ave.					3.36						2.28						0.40	
Per Capita Max (Ha)					8.60						8.33						1.0	
Per Capita Minimum					1.38						0.38						0.08	

The statistically significant Chi-square p-values indicate the positive welfare effect (social protection) of land reform on its beneficiaries relative to non-land beneficiaries. A close examination of land size statistics in Table 7.6 below, showing household cultivable land size by gender of plot owner, reveals that over 90.0 percent of the A2 land beneficiaries have household cultivable land sizes above 15ha; all A1 land beneficiaries have household cultivable land sizes above 6 ha. This is in stark contrast to the situation in the control group where 77.5 percent of the households have cultivable land sizes below 3 ha. The smaller land sizes in the control group represent a colonial legacy in which the continual subdivisions of land within the former 'native reserves' now the 'communal areas' had given rise to viability problems (see Moyo and Makumbe 2000; Amanor-Wilks 2009:19). In a study in Masvingo Scoones, Mavedzenge, Murimbarimba and Sukume (2018: 819) found this figure to have declined to 1.5 ha per household. This has had negative implications on household food security and welfare of communal households as concluded by this research.

A gendered analysis of Table 7.6 above reveals a statistically significant correlation with a Chi-square exact test of significance p-value of.01 between gender of plot holder and land size within the control group. Within the group, FHHs are over-represented in the households with less than 3 ha of land constituting 54.8 percent relative to 45.2 percent for MHHs. This hypothesis was rejected in the A2 and A1 resettlement areas with p-values above .05 due to in-kind land transfer effect of the FTLRP to both women and men. The absence of a statistically significant relationship between gender of plot holder and cultivable land size within resettled areas reflects one important gender social transformation brought about by the FTLRP. This has been accompanied with enhanced household food and nutritional welfare (social protection) for FHHs relative to MHHs. As shown in Table 7.6 above, due to the FTLRP, the per capita net transfer of cultivable land is highest in resettled areas at 3.36 ha and 2.28 ha for A2 and A1 areas respectively. This is in contrast to 0.4 ha in the control group area, where the minimum is as low as 0.08 ha. Such disparities in landholdings between resettled and communal households help in explaining the paradoxes observed above in terms of household food security and nutritional welfare of resettled relative to non-land reform households. The evidence presented comparing the household food security situation of resettled against communal households indicate the ex-ante prophylactic social protection (Myrdal and Myrdal 1932) effect of land reform. As such, it can be argued that access to land is a key social protection instrument for people living in rural areas dependent on farming as a means of livelihood.

7.3 Access to Land and Guaranteed Source of Household Income

In the classical case of the South Korean land redistribution Mkandawire (2014) observed an extricable link between land reforms, more equal personal income distribution and reduction in the growth of inequality (2014: 23). In the case of Zimbabwe, though not explicitly the objective of the FTLRP, Dekker and Kinsey (2011) argue that, the 5 ha landholdings of the resettlement programs of the 1980s had a planned income target for the landholding at full maturity equivalent to the minimum industrial wage in the urban areas, thus keeping the land beneficiaries out of poverty (2011: 996). This was particularly important, as the plot holders were not allowed to take up formal employment. If this assertion by Dekker and Kinsey (2011) is anything to go by, access to land not only "serve as source of cheaper food relative to the market" (an argument convincingly presented above and to be revisited here), but also provide an opportunity for access to personal as well as household income, as land has the potential to generate income (Burgess 2001: 1). One of the FTLRP distributive outcomes in Chiredzi District, as presented already, was a substantial transfer of land to households, including FHHs in both A1 and A2 areas. This has had a net effect on household incomes as reflected in Table 7.7 showing per capita household incomes by gender of the household head.

Table 7.7 Per Capita Household Net Incomes by Gender of Household Head

Per Capita Household Income US$	A2 Farming Areas		A1 Farming Areas		Communal Areas	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Household per Capita Mean	4,038.00	4,859.56	429.55	185.46	75.90	23.89
Household per Capita Max.	11,600.00	11,000.00	2,444.00	400.00	449.00	277.00
Household per Capita Min.	1538.00	1714.00	21.00	90.00	0.00	0.00
Household per Capita Income by Area						
Study Site Per Capita Mean	4,462.03		333.39		50.56	
Fisher's Exact Test of Significance	.269		.823		.048	

Source: Field Data

As presented in the table, the biggest effect of the redistribution on household income is reflected in the incomparable A2 farming category with per capita household net incomes above US$4, 000. This is attributed to two important factors, namely, the bigger family landholdings and the high-value agricultural commodity production onto which land beneficiaries have been integrated.

Though relatively low in comparable terms, significant differences in per capita household net incomes exist between households in the A1 smallholder category and the communal

control group. From a benchmark of US$50 per capita household net income found in the control group, empirical evidence indicate that the amount multiplied over six-fold to a per capita household income above USD300 in the A1 category attributed to the land reform intervention. By simple calculation, one can counter arguing that the FTLRP failed to lift these households above the poverty line of US$1 per day. Such an argument not only fails to make a "distinction between purchased calories (food grain) and own produced calories" but also the extent to which "access to land affect purchased calorie consumption both through an income effect and the shadow price of own produced calories" (Burgess 2001: 12).

Table 7.8 below shows the extent to which households supplemented their incomes through the sale of grain across the study sites irrespective whether they had produced enough grain or not in the season in question.

Table 7.8 Supplementing Household Incomes Through Sale of Grain 2015/16 Season

Household Food Security by Area			Sold Grain 2015/16 Season		Total
			Yes	No	
Mkwasine A2 Farms	Produced Enough Food	Yes	9.3	9.3	18.6
		No	0.0	0.0	0.0
Maware A1 Farms	Produced Enough Food	Yes	93.9	0.0	93.9
		No	3.0	3.0	6.1
Muteyo Communal Lands	Produced Enough Food	Yes	2.5	2.5	5.0
		No	15.0	80.0	95.0

Source: Field Data (2016).

As shown in Table 7.8 below, 93.9 percent of households in the A1 farming category produced enough grain for use-value and exchange value. This brings a cost difference between households in A1 and the control group. In the latter, 95 percent of the households satisfy their calorie demand through the market or other sources other than own-production due to poor land endowment insufficient to meet their calorie requirements. As argued by Burgess (2001: 12) own "produced and purchased calories are close substitutes." Increased access to land has "a negative impact on purchased calorie consumption and a positive effect on own produced calorie consumption" (Burgess 2001: 12). Coupled with inadequate per capita household incomes of around US$50, and lack of access to land to produce own-food, the net results are household food insecurity and poor nutritional welfare in the control group, relative to the resettled areas. The negative effect of poor land endowment on household welfare is reflected by 15 percent households in the control group which not only failed to produce enough grain but also sold grain as a household strategy to supplement poor household incomes. This has a net effect of increasing household poverty and socio-

economic vulnerability. The relatively high disposable incomes in the A2 farming category as reflected by their high per capita net incomes is enabling these households to adequately satisfy their calorie and other food requirements through the market (see Section 7.2.2).

A gender analysis of Table 7.6 indicates a strong association between household size of cultivable land and gender of household head with a Chi-square exact test of significance p-value of .01 in the communal control group. In Table 7.7 above, this translated to a strong association between the gender of household head and household per capita income in the control group with a Chi-square exact test of significance p-value of .048. These two hypotheses, which proved true in the control group, were both rejected in the resettlement areas. Access to bigger pieces of land by both female and male-headed households transformed gender relations in terms of household incomes and access to land. Evidently, in the A2 sugarcane growing areas, FHHs have higher per capita household net incomes at US$4,859.56 relative to US$4,038.00 for MHHs. Below are some female study participants' voices from the field:

> *The government has given me employment I am on a ticket (In-depth Interview Female A2 Sugarcane Farmer 03 September 2016).*

Illustrating the extent to which access to land had gone beyond merely a guaranteed source of income for households needs, one female sugarcane lad beneficiary has this to say;

> *I had managed to purchase three tractors which I also put in the pool for transporting cane during harvest time, getting additional money from that. This additional income had helped me obtain money to purchase more tractors (In-depth Interview Female A2 Female Land Beneficiary 19 September 2016).*

Not were these sentiments only highlighted by sugarcane women beneficiaries but also found in field experiences with A1 women beneficiaries;

> *The programme (contract chilli production) had, to a greater extent, enhanced the lives of women. When the crop is ready for harvest women are getting, on a monthly basis, an income that allow them to cover their household expenses ….on average I could get $300 per month from sale of my crops (In-depth Interview Female Polygamous Married A1 Land Beneficiary 07 May 2016).*
>
> *Because of the kind of crops we are now cultivating we have a stable household monthly cash inflow as Better Agriculture pays monthly. We are getting an average of*

$1 200 monthly. This is in contrast to cotton we used to grow in the communal areas. Besides, we also sell grain to people from surrounding communal and other areas including to the GMB. So, we always have some money in the household (In-depth Interview Female Married Female Land Reform Beneficiary 06 May 2016).

Highlighting the significant change in terms of means of accessing household incomes, one of the A1 women had this to say;

While in the communal areas, we sold 'matsvairo' (sweeping grass brooms) to fend for our families. Now there is a significant change. Since we came here, we never sold 'matsvairo' we now have our own gardens where we grow vegetables, tomatoes, beans and maize and take them to the market in Chiredzi ((In-depth Interview Female Respondent Polygamous Married Women 13 May 2016).

These field experiences by women land beneficiaries highlight the extent to which access to land had provided for a guaranteed household source of income, including those headed by females. This double function of land, not only as a source of food but also a household income, calls for the need to re-think social policy in development contexts, particularly in Africa where the majority of the population depend on land as a source of livelihood.

7.3.1 Enhanced Household Incomes and *Mikando* Rural Women Savings Clubs

The enhanced household incomes from farming had enabled resettled women to participate in local saving clubs *(mikando).* In the A1 farming areas, 51.5 percent of the female respondents in the survey questionnaire were members of savings clubs. The figure was 40 percent in the control group and none in the A2 farming areas. Presented below are some women experiences highlighted during in-depth interviews with land beneficiaries from the A1 farming areas;

We have started 'mikando' to assist ourselves in times of difficulties. As group members we agreed to assist a member facing a problem. We also have another programme called 'fushayi' in which we make contributions during the course of the year and share the money at the end of the year. In 'fushayi' if you borrow $20 after a period of 3 weeks the borrower would pay back $25. Last year we were 16 women and shared $350 per member (In-depth Interview Female Polygamous Married A1 Land Beneficiary 07 May 2016).

I had joined mikando with other women because I have my own money and bought my household goods. We are ten women and contribute $40 per month. Each month a sum of $400 is given to one member on a rotational basis. Another one is called 'fushayi' in which we share contributions and profits at the end of the year. Last year we bought a goat for each member, $50 worth of groceries for Christmas and $50 cash for each member. We were 40 women in the club. (In-depth Interview Female A1 Land Beneficiary 08 May 2016).

Some of the women beneficiaries are engaged in off-farm investments to diversify their household incomes while at the same time enhancing their household incomes. Shown below are women field experiences captured during in-depth interviews:

I had bought two houses in town. I also earn money from renting out some of the rooms in my house while my children stay in other rooms. Each room l rent it for $60 per month out of the five rooms l get $300 (In-depth Interview Female A1 Land Beneficiary 09 May 2016)

I bought a Nissan Terrano parked outside. At the same time, l bought a ten roomed house in Chiredzi town with a dura-wall this year as well (In-depth Interview Female A2 Female Land Beneficiary 16 September 2016).

The above illustrates that for beneficiaries, including FHHs, land reform has positive welfare effects beyond individual and household social protection. Women are engaged in various saving and investment activities beyond the farm. None of the above could be found in the control group due to their poor household land endowment. The study findings confirm other research concluding that farming contributes more than three-quarters of household income for rural households and has potential to enhance the welfare of rural households through effective policies (Rios *et al.* 2009).

7.4 Gender, Access to Housing and Welfare

Land is foundational to building a secure home and bedrock for adequate housing. In both rural and urban areas of developing and developed countries alike, countless families lack access to land on which to build a shelter. Access to adequate housing is a determinant factor for good health; access to income and safety (Habitat for Humanity 2016; Tsikata 2009: 19). The empirical evidence presented here indicates that the FTLRP increased women's access to land relative to previous land resettlements efforts. However, the percentages could have

been much higher for gender equality. This access to land provided not only access to a source of food and household income but adequate space for housing relative to the communal areas.

7.4.1 Quality of Dwelling Unit Proxy of Household Welfare

The quality of the dwelling unit in which a household resides is a good proxy for household welfare (Habitat for Humanity 2016; Tsikata 2009: 19). Within resettlement areas, the effect of secure access to land not only provides space to build adequate housing but also incomes necessary to invest in quality dwelling units. Table 7.9 below shows the quality of housing by gender of household across the study sites. In the control group as depicted in the table, a strong association exist between quality of housing and gender of the household head with a Chi-square exact test of significance p-value of 0.01.

Table 7.9 Quality of Dwelling Unit by Gender of Household Head

Quality of Housing		Dagga/Brick and Thatch		Brick and Iron Sheets/Asbestos		Brick and Tile		Chi-Square Exact Test p-Value
		No	%	No	%	No	%	
Mkwasine A2 Farmers	Male	0	0.0	15	100	0	0.0	
	Female	0.0.0	0	17	100	0	0.0	*
	Total	**0**	**0.0**	**32**	**100**	**0**	**0.0**	
Maware A1 Farmers	Male	5	25.0	13	65.0	2	10.0	
	Female	1	7.7	11	84.6	1	7.7	
	Total	**6**	**18.2**	**24**	**72.7**	**3**	**9.1**	**.481**
Muteyo Communal Farmers	Male	3	14.3	18	85.7	0	0.0	
	Female	14	73.7	5	26.3	0	0.0	
	Total	**17**	**42.5**	**23**	**57.5**	**0**	**0.0**	**.01**

Source: Field Data *no statistic calculated quality housing was a constant in the A2.

A gender analysis of Table 7.9 above reveals that, within the female category, 73.7 percent of the households in the control group live in dagga/brick and thatch houses—the lowest level in terms of quality of housing. Out of the total number of households that reported living in dagga/brick and thatch houses in the control group, 82.3 percent are female-headed. These results confirm findings by Appleton (1996: 1816) in Uganda that FHHs were likely to have mud walls and thatched dwellings than MHHs—an indicator of poor household welfare.

The hypothesis correlating gender of household head and quality of dwelling unit was found statistically insignificant in the A1 farming areas with a p-value above.05. In the A2 quality of housing was a constant as all households inherited brick and asbestos housing. Below are some field experiences gathered during A1 in-depths interviews:

We now have access to unlimited land to build our homesteads without encroaching in someone's land. In the communal areas, particularly when the family is big, there is not enough space to construct one's homestead. Space is always limited. While in the communal areas we had one housing unit because of a shortage of land. Here we had managed to construct three housing units, a kitchen, a bedroom and one for visitors (In-depth Interview Female Married A1 Land Beneficiary 14 May 2016).

When l first came here, I was staying in pole and dagga houses, but with time l had managed to build a 2-bed roomed house with iron sheets. I destroyed the pole and dagga houses and constructed two brick and thatch rounded huts (In-depth Interview Female Polygamous Married A1 Land Beneficiary 07 May 2016).

In the communal areas, you could not find land to build, such as expansive homestead like this one (referring to their beautiful homestead they had built). It would be regarded as a waste of land. You could build your homestead on a small piece of land so as to reserve land for farming (In-depth Interview Female Polygamous Married A1 Land Beneficiary 09 May 2016).

Access to land and guaranteed household incomes saw both female and male-headed households moving out of mud walls and thatch into brick and iron/asbestos housing. Through accumulation, some A1 households have invested in tiled housing. This reinforces the positive welfare impact of the FTLRP on its beneficiaries, including FHHs, relative to those in the communal areas (Chibwana 2017: 247).

7.5 Accumulation of Livestock by Land Reform Beneficiaries

The broad-based character of the FTLRP (Moyo *et al.* 2009; Elich 2011; Scoones *et al.* 2011) saw different categories of women and men accessing larger pieces of land as illustrated in Table 7.6. The larger pieces of land created conditions conducive for what Mafeje (2003:24) call expanded petty mode of production, referring to production, expressly meant for the market or exchange value and accumulation from below (Cousins 2013; Scoones *et al.* 2010). Access to land had seen resettled farmers, the majority of whom settled without livestock, now accumulating large herds of livestock reflecting welfare gains of the FTLRP in poor rural households (Dekker and Kinsey 2011:1001; Kinsey 2004:1688). This is in sharp contrast to petty mode of production dominant in the communal areas in which use-value is a principal factor.

Table 7.10 Cattle Ownership by Gender of Household Head

		Mkwasine A2 Areas						Maware A1 Areas						Muteyo Communal Areas					
		Male		Female		Total		Male		Female		Total		Male		Female		Total	
		No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Year Settled	**Yes**	5	33.3	2	11.8	7	21.9	10	50.0	4	30.8	14	42.4	-	-	-	-	-	-
	No	10	66.7	15	88.2	25	78.1	10	50.0	9	69.2	19	57.6	-	-	-	-	-	-
2016	**Yes**	9	60.0	6	35.3	15	46.9	20	100	12	92.3	32	96.4	13	61.9	7	36.8	20	50.0
	No	6	40.0	11	64.7	17	53.1	0	0.0	1	7.7	1	3.6	8	38.1	12	63.2	20	50.0
Women (2016)	**Yes**	2	13.3	2	11.8	4	12.5	8	40.0	7	53.8	15	45.5	3	14.3	2	10.5	5	12.5
Ownership	**No**	13	86.7	15	88.2	28	87.5	12	60.0	6	46.2	18	54.5	18	85.7	17	89.5	35	87.5
Chi-Square P-Value		.287						.205						3.94					

Source: Field Work (2016)

Table 7.11 Average Head Size by Gender of Household Head

	Mkwasine A2 Areas						Maware A1 Areas						Muteyo Communal Areas					
	Male		Female		Total		Male		Female		Total		Male		Female		Total	
	Sum	Mean	Sum	Mean	Sum	Mean	Sum	Mean	Sum	Mean	Sum	Mean	Sum	Mean	Sum	Mean	Sum	Mean
Year settled	37	2.7	8	.47	45	1.59	91	4.55	32	2.46	123	3.5	-	-	-	-	-	-
2016	74	4.93	64	3.76	138	4.3	203	10.15	93	7.15	296	8.65	57	2.17	26	1.37	83	2.4
Mean Herd Size	Yr. Settled		1.59	2016		4.31	Yr Settled		3.5	2016		8.97	Fieldwork Year 2016					2.08

Source: Field Work (2016)

Mafeje further argues that this does not mean that farmers in the mode of petty production are averse to accumulation but is beyond their reach, as they have no access to agricultural resources of any kind. This category of producers, he argued can be accurately referred to as the 'poor' peasants.

Table 7.10 below, shows cattle ownership by gender of household across the study sites. As presented in the table, despite specialising in the production of a cash crop, 46.9 percent of the A2 farmers reported owning cattle, over a hundred percent increase considering that only 21.9 percent indicated owning cattle on year settled. A gender analysis within the FHHs, reveals that 21.9 percent owned cattle on year settled relative to 33.3 percent MHHs. In 2016, within the FHHs, 35.3 percent owned cattle, a positive increase from the base year. A point to note is that, in the A2 category, the livestock are not kept within the sugarcane plots, but in the rural areas, since many land beneficiaries maintained their original communal homes. In the A1 farming areas, 96.4 percent of the land beneficiaries reported owning cattle in 2016, a two-fold increase from 42.4 percent reporting owning cattle on settling year. In the base year, within the FHHs, 30.8 percent owned cattle relative to 50 percent within MHHs. In 2016 cattle ownership within FHHs increased to 92.3 percent a triple increase from the base year. The above before-and-after analyses for resettled households indicate the positive welfare effect of access to land, particularly for women and FHHs.

Despite, positive changes in FHHs ownership of cattle in the A1 farming areas, little transformation has occurred in female ownership of cattle in the A2 farming sector with 86.7 percent of women reported not owning cattle, in their own right, a figure similar to that reported in the control group. The A2 sector specialises in the production of a single crop, implying a single household source of income, particularly for married couples. Lack of female cattle ownership can be linked to their lack of decision-making power and control on the expending of proceeds from farming, particularly in MHHs. This contrast markedly with the A1 farming category where husband's and wife's crops can be grown separately with each individual controlling proceeds from their farming ventures. While the issue of husband and wife's crop was referred to during in-depth interviews (in which some married women referred to being allocated fields to grow own crops, particularly chilli), I observed the allocation of fields by polygamous husbands to their wives to support their households. Evidence to this is the relatively higher percentage of women owning cattle in their own right in the A1 farming areas. Below are some women experiences gathered during in-depth interviews:

I came here without any livestock. Now I am a proud owner of a herd of cattle, a flock of goats and chicken (In-depth Interview Female Widowed A1 Land Beneficiary 12 May 2016)

I managed to buy cattle in my own name not included under my husband's herd through growing vegetable crops and selling them in Chiredzi. I am now a person with her own livestock. Much of our extra money we invest in livestock assets (In-depth Interview Female Polygamous Married A1 Land Beneficiary 09 May 2016)

Women could not own livestock such as goats and cattle; all belonged to the husband except for chickens. Now I own my own goats and cattle (In-depth Interview divorced Female A1 Land Beneficiary 11 May 2016)

The sentiments from women quoted above are reflected in the overall quantitative increase in ownership of cattle in the A1 farming areas as presented in Table 7.11 above, showing average head sizes across the study sites. As shown in the table, average herd size, more than doubled in the A1 farming areas from a settling year average herd size of 3.5 animals to 8.97 within 15 years of resettlement. Similar statistics are found in the A2 category, where the average household herd size increased from 1.59 animals to 4.31 animals in the same period. This is in contrast to the current average herd size of 2.08 in the control group.

These statistics collaborates with Kinsey *et al.* (1998) findings in the old resettlement areas showing that 15 years after resettlement, more than 90 percent of the households owned cattle, with a mean herd size of ten animals. Within the FTLRP areas, Scoones *et al.* 2010, Mbereko (2010) and Matondi (2012), among others, have confirmed comparable results. I can safely concluded that the FTLRP, not only enhanced accumulation as evidenced in the difference in cattle ownership between the control group and resettled farmers, but also transformed the gendered ownership of livestock, particularly cattle, as more women who accessed land now own cattle. This evident in Plate 8.1 below, showing a proud herd of cattle for a female A2 land beneficiary.

7.5.1 Livestock as 'Walking Banks', 'Savings Banks on Hooves'

Livestock assets are not only a source of nutritious food (meat, eggs, milk)—thus enhancing household food security and a source of income—they also provide manure and draught power and other products. In times of socio-economic stress sale of livestock serve as a buffer and coping mechanism, which helps smooth consumption——a form of social protection (Devereux 2001). Within African societies, traditionally and in contemporary times, "in areas where banking services are limited, the importance of livestock as a form of savings

('walking banks' or 'savings banks on the hoof') is often highlighted" (Sumberg and Lankoande 2013:258). Livestock is considered a store or stock of savings, like a simple savings bank account. New livestock purchases are the deposits; growths through reproduction are the earned interests while consumption, sales and deaths are the withdrawals. As Sumberg and Lankoande argue, in areas with inaccessible banking services, the utility of livestock, as savings is unquestionable (2013:259). Beyond the economic function, livestock play a critical role in identity and social dynamics, as ownership of cattle is associated with high social standing (see Chapter Six). Presented below in Plate 7.1 is a proud herd of cattle for one A2 female land beneficiary.

Plate 7.1 A 'Stock of Savings' for one Female A2 Sugarcane Farmer in Chiredzi

Source: Field Notes 2016

Quoted below are some of the women field experiences regarding access to land and how it had enabled the accumulation of wealth in the form of cattle;

> *I bought a residential stand in Chiredzi, six cattle and two donkeys and goats. I bought the cattle after my husband's death. We had no cattle when he passed away*

(In-depth Interview Female Widowed A2 Female Land Beneficiary 20 September 2016).

I had bought 6 cattle which l keep in my rural home they are in my name; my husband had no cattle. I had built a pig run intending to start a piggery project (In-depth Interview Female Widowed A2 Female Land Beneficiary 14 September 2016).

We bought 7 cattle from the sugarcane field. They belong to us all (In-depth Interview Female Married A2 Female Land Beneficiary 20 September 2016).

I had accessed a loan from Bank ABC. To secure the loan, I used my vehicle and cattle in my rural home as collateral (In-depth Interview Female Widowed A2 Female Land Beneficiary 17 September 2016).

As highlighted above, this asset is serving several functions including as collateral to access bank loans. The utility of livestock as a social protection asset serves better when there is no adverse climatic impact. Livestock can be in jeopardy in the face of prolonged droughts when they could easily die, with attendant loss of the asset. On the other hand, while households can sell livestock to cover medical, education and other economic expenses, the livestock as 'walking banks' work better when the need to be met is more social. However, these do not invalidate the research findings that, within the resettled areas, despite the social position of women having been transformed, accumulating more livestock is a form of investment and a social protection mechanism, particularly for FHHs.

7.6 Conclusion

Evidence presented in the Chapter qualifies land reform as a functional social policy (protection) equivalent to conventional social policy instruments in the welfare of industrialised nations. The prophylactic social protection function of land reform concerning household food security, including those headed by females, as discussed in the chapter, is irrefutable. This is in addition to enhanced household incomes, improved housing conditions and savings either in the form of the livestock of women savings club. I firmly assert that in-kind transfer of land to both female and male-headed households is a far more superior social protection measure compared to either food or cash transfers, particularly in predominantly agrarian contexts.

Chapter Eight

Gender and Land Reforms: A Social Reproduction Perspective

8.0 Introduction

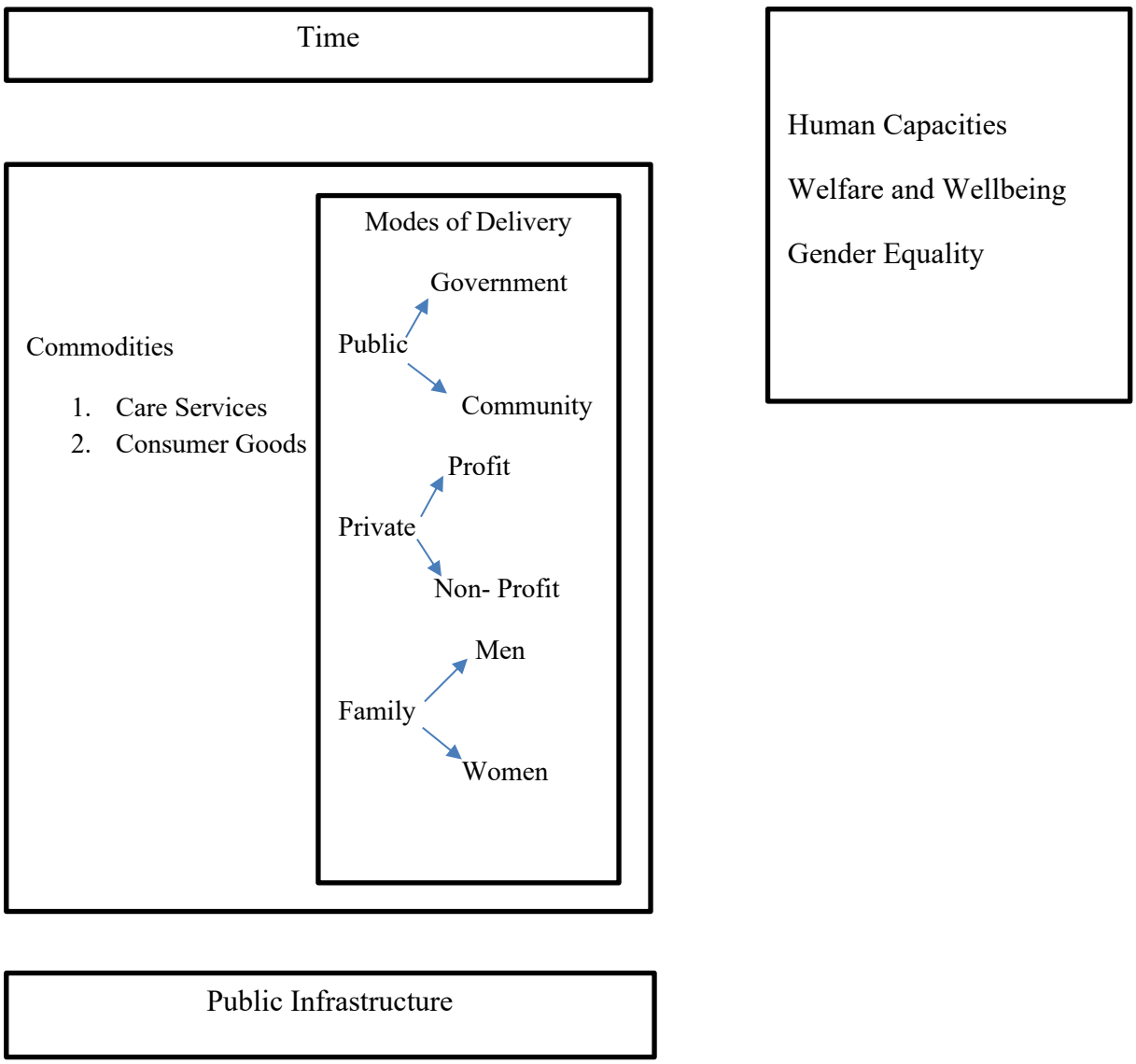
The chapter adopts a Marxist feminists' social reproduction theory in discussing the outcomes of the FTLRP in Chiredzi District. As a prelude to the chapter, the social reproductive function proposed by Ellissa Braunstein is adopted to conceptualise land reforms from a social reproductive perspective. The three components of the framework, namely time, commodities and public infrastructure structure the assessment of the outcomes of the FTLRP and the attendant welfare outcomes for women relative to men. Observed were emerging class dynamics within resettlement women characterised by outsourcing unremunerated household work by some resettlement households. The chapter concludes categorising the resettlement study sites within Ellissa Braunstein low and high-road social reproduction analogies.

8.1 Conceptualising Land Reforms Within a Social Reproduction Perspective

Insights from the study of gender and social policy identify the household as one important but an often-ignored key site for social reproduction (Orloff 1993:311,1996; O'Connor 1996; Lister 2010:64; Lewis 1998; O'Connor, Orloff and Shaver 1999). Braunstein (2015) conceptualises the household—one key component in Razavi (2007) care diamond—as the entry point at which the state, market and communities may contribute in social reproduction in terms of time, effort and money (2015: 9). This contribution would encompass all direct and indirect care services that support unpaid (care) work in the home/family or community. It is important at this juncture to make a distinction between unpaid care work and unpaid work, terms, which are often conflated. Falth and Blackden (2010) defined unpaid care work as including "caring for children, elderly and sick people, washing, cooking, shopping, cleaning and helping other families with their chores. Distinguishing it from the former, unpaid work "includes food, fuel and water collection and other energy provision, informal unpaid work and family labour in agriculture." Though not intended to be exhaustive of "all aspects of unpaid care work and unpaid work, the authors highlights some important aspects and quick entry points" (Falth and Blackden 2010). The social reproduction (SR) function

(Braunstein 2015: 11) presented in Figure 8.1 below was used to frame the discussion in this chapter. The framework was adopted as it suits analyses of social reproduction in the context of land reforms. It comprises the inputs, processes and outputs involved in social reproduction processes.

Figure 8.1 The Social Reproduction Function



Adapted from Braunstein (2015:11)

As shown in Figure 8.1 above, "inputs into the social reproduction function are of three types: time, commodities and infrastructure" which combine to produce human capacities and welfare. Time refers to quantitative measurement of non-market hours spent or devoted to unpaid work (Braunstein 2015: 11) in the home to which men, women, the state and market

are potential contributors. Commodities refer to goods and services that pass through the market, including in-kind services the household receives, which it does not directly pay but paid by others either through the public purse or other non-state actors. “Commodities are financed by income from work, public and/or private transfers and include paid direct and indirect care services and consumer goods such as stoves, refrigerators and washing machines” aiding in social reproductive work (Braunstein 2015: 13). The mode of delivery of these commodities, whether private or public, is important as it affects the gender content of reproductive labour (Braunstein 2015: 11-13). “Public infrastructure refers to the goods as roads, electricity, water and sanitation among others that affect time intensity of reproductive work” (Agenor and Agenor 2009). This is particularly important in land, and agrarian reforms as Jacobs (2002) hints that access to land alone with no accompanying physical infrastructure and services may not radically alter the lives and welfare of women considering their dual roles as procreators and producers. Within the context of social reproduction, access to land should not force harder choices and trade-offs on women between work and caring (Hernes 1987). Literature is abounding with case studies where insufficient attention paid to the provision of social services in the design of land reform programmes had increased work burdens for women (Jacobs, 1996, 2013; Cross and Hornby 2002).

8.1.1 Social Reproductive Work and Non-Market Time

Time has been conceptualised as “a limited resource that is divided between labour and leisure, productive and reproductive activities including paid and unpaid work for both women and men” (Ferrant, Pesando and Nowacka 2014: 1). Within the SR framework, social reproductive work is a responsibility that constraints adult allocation of time and constitutes a significant investment of time to which men, women “children and networks of kin or community may all be important contributors” (Braunstein 2015: 11). Gender equity in total work time spent on social reproductive work is important in analysing the gendered pattern of unpaid work and their impact on the welfare of women in relation to men. This is particularly important since the extent to which “society and policymakers address issues concerning reproductive work has important implications for the achievement of gender equality as they either expand the capabilities and choice of women and men or confine women to traditional roles associated with femininity and motherhood” (Razavi 2007b). Table 8.1 below shows a measure of the three social reproduction components, time, commodities and infrastructure (Braunstein 2015) across the three study sites.

Table 8.1 Measurement of Social Reproduction Components for Women by Gender of Hosehold Head

Social Reproduction Variables		MKWASINE A2 FARMS						MAWARE A1 FARMS						MUTEYO COMMUNAL AREAS					
		Male		Female		Total		Male		Female		Total		Male		Female		Total	
1. Time		No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Time Spent on Housework	< 3 Hrs	5	33.3	11	64.7	16	50.0	2	10.0	6	46.2	8	24.2	9	42.9	10	52.6	19	47.5
	4-6 Hrs	5	33.3	2	11.8	7	21.9	5	25.0	2	15.4	7	21.2	9	42.9	6	31.6	15	37.5
	> 6 Hrs	5	33.4	4	23.5	9	28.1	13	65.0	5	38.4	18	54.5	3	14.2	3	15.8	6	15.0
Time Spent in the fields	0-3 Hrs	6	40.0	5	29.4	11	34.4	2	10.0	0	0.0	2	6.1	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	4-6 Hrs	6	40.0	9	52.9	15	46.9	6	30.0	9	69.2	15	45.5	8	38.1	6	31.6	14	35.0
	< 6 Hrs	3	20.0	3	17.7	6	18.8	12	60.0	4	30.8	16	48.5	13	61.9	13	68.4	26	65.0
% Women Reporting	>12 hr Dy	8	53.3	7	41.2	15	46.9	20	100	13	100	33	100.	16	76.2	16	84.2	32	80.0
Spouse Sharing Housework	Yes	7	46.6	0	0.0	7	43.8	10	50.0	0	0.0	10	47.6	10	47.6	0	0.0	10	52.6
	No	7	46.6	2	11.8	9	53.3	7	35.0	4	30.8	11	52.4	7	33.3	2	10.5	9	47.4
Feel Balanced Share of Housework	Yes	6	40.0	0	0.0	6	37.5	5	25.0	0	0.0	5	23.8	10	47.6	0	0.0	10	52.6
	No	8	53.3	2	11.8	10	62.5	12	60.0	4	19.0	16	76.2	7	33.3	2	10.5	9	47.4
Hire Paid Labour	Yes	15	100	17	100	32	100	5	25.0	2	15.4	7	21.2	2	9.5	0	0.0	2	5.0
	No	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	15	75.0	11	84.6	26	78.8	18	85.7	19	100	37	92.5
Feel Time Poverty	Yes	10	66.6	9	52.9	19	59.4	17	85.0	9	69.2	26	78.8	14	66.6	14	73.7	28	70.0
	No	5	33.4	8	47.1	13	40.6	3	15.0	4	30.8	7	21.1	7	33.4	5	26.3	12	30.0
2. Commodities																			
Own Electric Stove	Yes	14	93.3	15	88.2	29	90.6	0	0.0	1	7.7	1	3.0	2	9.5	0	0.0	2	5.0
	No	1	6.7	2	11.8	3	9.4	20	100	12	92.3	32	97.0	19	90.5	19	100	38	95.0
Own Refrigerator	Yes	14	93.3	15	88.2	29	90.6	2	10.0	2	15.4	4	12.1	0	0.0	1	5.2	1	2.5
	No	1	6.7	2	11.8	3	9.4	18	90.0	11	84.6	29	87.9	21	100	18	94.8	39	97.5
Own Paraffin/Gas or Wood Stove	Yes	9	60.0	7	41.2	16	50.0	0	0.0	2	15.4	2	6.1	2	9.5	1	5.2	3	7.5
	No	6	40.0	10	59.8	16	50.0	20	100	11	84.6	31	93.9	19	90.5	18	94.8	37	92.5
Own Washing Machine	Yes	0	0.0	2	11.8	2	6.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	No	15	100	15	88.2	30	93.8	20	100	13	100	33	100	21	100	19	100	40	100
Employ Housemaid	Yes	9	60.0	5	29.4	14	43.8	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	No	6	40.0	12	70.6	18	56.3	20	100	13	100	33	100	21	100	19	100	40	100
3. Infrastructure																			
Access to Sanitation	Yes	15	100	17	100	32	100	7	35.0	7	53.8	14	42.4	8	38.1	8	42.1	16	40.0
	No	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	13	65.0	6	46.2	19	57.5	13	61.9	11	57.9	24	60.0

Findings depicted in the table collaborates conclusions reached elsewhere that gender blind land and agrarian reforms often increase the work burdens for women (Jacobs 2010, 1993, 1996; Cross and Hornby 2002). The percentage of women spending six or more hours on housework is more than twice higher in resettled areas compared with the control group—54.5 percent in A1 farming households and 28.1 percent in A2 farming households compared with 15.0 percent in the communal area. This is attributed to the high level of service delivery in rural (communal) water supply, sanitation and hygiene (as well as urban areas) attained in the mid-90s (Ahmad *et al.* 2017:1). The constrained capacity of the government, particularly with regard to the FTLRP resulted in the emplacement of settlers with no concomitant basic services (Gonese and Mukora 2003). As shown in Table 8.1 above, housework consumes a considerable amount of time for women in the A1 farming areas with possible negative effects on their welfare relative to men. Reflecting the opinions of over 90 percent of women respondents in the A1 farming area, below are some of the field experiences:

> *We obtain water from the canal; there are no wells. Most people obtain their drinking water from the canal. During periods when they clean the canal, and there is no water flowing, we obtain water more than ten kilometres away. Firewood is also a challenge. This increases the burden on us women (In-depth Interview Female Married A1 Land Beneficiary 14 May 2016)*

> *All these tasks wait for me collecting water, firewood and other tasks, including farm work. We obtain water from the canal, which is unprotected. Sources of safe and clean drinking water are too far, and we actually do not go there (In-depth Interview Female Married A1 Land Beneficiary 08 May 2016).*

> *Household reproductive roles are for women. When we come from the field, he (husband) will sit, and l must do the cleaning, washing, cooking, collecting water and firewood and all other household tasks. So, there is always plenty of work for me. We do not have a maid… Firewood is also becoming scarce; I need at least two hours to fetch for firewood. I transport the firewood by head. My husband may assist in cutting (In-depth Interview Female Married A1 Land Beneficiary 11 May 2016).*

A gendered analysis of the A1 areas reveals that 65 percent of women in MHHs invest 6 hours or more into unremunerated social reproduction work compared 38.4 percent of women in FHHs. Similarly, in the A2 farming areas, the figures are pegged at 33.4 percent relative to 23.5 percent in MHHs and FHHs, respectively. However, in the A1 areas, the experiences

above are not the same for all women, particularly those investing in physical infrastructure and technologies critical in reducing the social reproductive burden for women including those few in FHHs. Below are some reflections from this small fraction of women in the A1 areas;

> *I allocate myself time to work in the fields and do household tasks. I do not feel time short I give myself time to rest (In-depth Interview Respondent Female-Headed Household A1 Land Beneficiary 11 May 2016).*
>
> *We have piped water here. We bought a water tank where water is pumped into, treated and then comes to the tapes, flush toilets and showers (In-depth Interview Female Respondent Male-Headed Household A1 Land Beneficiary 09 May 2016)*

Such empirical evidence suggests that women in FHHs have the autonomy to distribute the time at their disposal between productive and social reproductive work, including the time to rest with positive implications on their welfare. Within the A1 areas, one of the interesting findings, although the numbers are insignificant, are households investing part of their proceeds from the farm on physical infrastructure and technologies necessary for reducing the social reproductive burden and improvement in the welfare of women. These include water tanks, tapped water, flush toilets and showers. What this reveals are differentiated welfare outcomes for women within resettled households. Such emerging class differentiation is an area of interest for future research within fast track areas. Notwithstanding, the observed overwhelming women's work burdens in the A1 areas contrast markedly with the situation of women in the A2 areas, as discussed in subsequent sections.

8.1.2 Women's Productive, Reproductive Work and Welfare

The ability to engage paid helps and individual household investment social services infrastructure does not dissipate the double productive and reproductive burden of women, particularly in the A1 farming areas. This was captured using the amount of time spent by women on housework and time spent in the field, as illustrated in Table 8.1 above. Despite spending more time on housework as indicated, 48.5 percent of women in A1 areas reported spending more than 6 hours in the field. Combining time spent on reproductive and productive work, the analysis reveals that all women in A1 experience an extraordinary longer working day of more than 12 hours. Narratives from in-depths interviews with women from both A1 and A2 farming areas are indicative to these differences:

As a woman, I work both in the household and on the farm. We do not have a maid to assist with household chores. I am expected to work both in the field and in the home. As a result, I may fail to find time for my own personal activities (In-depth Interview Female Married A1 Land Beneficiary 14 May 2016)

In my household, there are no household tasks l can say they are for my husband; he will assist if he can. Most of the work I do on my own. In these farming areas with irrigation, there is always a lot of work. I cannot finish all the work but have to leave some for the next day (In-depth Interview Female Polygamous Married Female A1 Land Beneficiary 05 May 2016)

Earliest in the morning l attend to my garden, after which we go and work in the husband's field, then cook for the family and return to work on our fields as wives. We can only have time to chat late in the night provided we are not tired. Our husband does not assist with looking after children. It is our duty as mothers and other grown-up female children to assist us (In-depth Interview Female Polygamous Married Female A1 Land Beneficiary 13 May 2016)

These high percentages of time poverty have negative implications for the welfare of women in these areas compared to men since all people require a minimum leisure time to maintain their physical and mental wellbeing. Such extremely long working hours have been observed to be common for rural women in Africa (see Rubiano-Matulevich and Viollaz 2019: 4; Folbre 2012: 17). A gender analysis of the A1 areas in Table 8.1 indicates that 60 percent of women in MHHs spend six or more hours in the field compared to 30.8 percent of women in FHHs. The situation of women in MHHs in the A1 areas is similar to women in both MHHs and FHHs in the control group suggesting no significant change, particularly for women in MHHs. Contrastingly, the situation of women in A1 farming and communal areas differs with that of their counterparts in the A2 areas with only 20 percent and 18.8 percent for women in MHHs and FHHs, respectively. Whereas all women in the A1 reported a combined working day of over 12 hours, these figures are pegged at 53.3 percent in MHHs and 41.2 percent in FHHs. The difference is attributable to their ability to hire paid labour to work in the fields.

Households in rural settings have the option to hire labour to work on the farm, thus lessening the double burden on women. Research had indicated women's labour to be the least essential in wealthier peasant households since labour is more likely to be hired (Razavi

1994). In this regard, all households in A2 areas reported hiring paid field labour relative to 21.2 percent in the A1 and 5.0 percent in the control group. Bivariate analysis in Table 8.3 shows a strong association between the amount of time spent on the field by women and hired labour at 0.01 significant level. The Pearson Chi-square value of -.048 indicates an inverse relationship in which the more hired labour a household can afford the less the time women spent on the field. Enhanced income flows resulting from access to land have enabled more households to purchase farm labour, thus indirectly contributing to households' welfare through lessening the double burden on women.

As illustrated in Table 8.1, less than half of the respondents in the A2 study area reported having an average working day (combining productive and reproductive work) above 12 working hours. Below are some field experiences from in-depths interviews with A2 women.

> *I had employed a supervisor to assist with work in the fields. I will, later on, follow to see if all the work has been done. We plan together with the tasks for each day. Just because l does not have a maid, sometimes l feels short of time for other things (In-depth Interview Widowed A2 Female Land Beneficiary 21 September 2016)*

> *I have five permanent employees, four of whom are males and a woman supervisor. She is the supervisor, and male workers take orders from her... Wherever she makes a mistake l will to see to it (In-depth Interview Widowed A2 Female Land Beneficiary 14 September 2016)*

> *I have a car, so l wake up and go to the field assign work to the supervisor and come back to attend my household chores During cutting season like now l hire a maid to assist with household work (In-depth Interview Married A2 Female Land Beneficiary 18 September 2016).*

This contrasts with the A1 farmers' where low percentage hiring labour and other contributing factors are most likely be causes of high percentages of women reporting an average working day exceeding 12 hours. The negative welfare implications are biased towards women in MHHs. As found elsewhere, this research found women having to work first in the husband and/or family field before working on their own plots within the farm (Yngstrom 2002:29; Amanor-Wilks 2009:32; Tsikata and Amanor-Wilks 2009:3). While land reform itself may not be designed to address gender inequity in time allocations within

households, it is imperative that policymakers attend to inequities underlying women's invisible work.

8.1.3 Endemic Time Poverty and the Welfare of Women in Rural Africa

In support of the above findings, research has indicated endemic time poverty in low-income countries, the pattern of which is shaped by inequalities of class, race, ethnicity as well as gender (Folbre 2012:17). As depicted in Table 8, a relatively lower percentage of women reported time poverty in A2 areas at 59.4 percent compared to 78.8 percent and 70.0 percent in A1 and the communal areas, respectively. A gendered analysis of resettled areas reveals that 85 percent of women residing in MHHs reported experiencing time poverty relative to 69.2 of women in FHHs. While these statistics are high in comparative terms due to the endemic time poverty, the situation of women in FHHs is better in relative terms. Similarly, in the A2 the figures are pegged at 55.2 percent for women in MHHs relative to 44.8 percent for those in FHHs. These statistics indicate that combined house and farm work absorb considerable time and energy of women with corresponding negative implications for their individual and household welfare.

The gendered effect of unequal distribution of work relating to the reproduction of labour within the household translates into unequal opportunities to participate fully in productive work (Ferrant *et al.* 2014:3). Reduction in the amount of time spent by women in housework is one policy objective for gender equality and enhancement of the welfare of women in relation to men (Falth and Blackden 2010). Such empirical evidence asserts gender equity as a contemporary agrarian question and the need for land reforms to take cognizance of social reproduction if they are to enhance the welfare of women relative to that of men (Naidu and Ossome 2016: 51).

8.2 Commodities within the Social Reproduction Function

The family institution or households constitute a central site for reproduction as it undertakes the conversion of incomes to the household in forms of wages, social transfers or earnings into necessities of life for individual consumption and welfare (Dickinson and Russell 1985). Any state interventions that directly affect income flows to households contribute to households' social reproduction activities as the latter make use of the incomes to purchase from the market what they use to reproduce themselves (Naidu and Ossome 2016: 52). This, of course, excludes production for use-value in households with access to agricultural land. In

a wage economy, wages are transformed into means of subsistence within the household, thereby contributing to the social reproduction of family members (Naidu and Ossome 2016: 53). In agrarian economies, land continues to be an important asset as higher land holdings are associated with higher net household incomes. Higher landholdings exemplify an accumulative strategy and an escape route out of poverty (see Chapter Seven) contributing to household social reproduction (Moyo, Jha and Yeros 2013). As shown in Table 7.7 (page 190), resettled farmers reported relatively higher household incomes due to access to land with a possible effect on ownership and purchase of consumer goods critical in social reproduction and improved female as well as overall household welfare.

8.2.1 Ownership of Improved Household Consumer Goods and Welfare

In the social reproduction function, commodities as inputs to the system are financed by wages, including public and/or private transfers (Braunstein 2015:11). As such incomes flowing to the household determine how much commodities can be purchased to aid social reproduction within the household, with different outcomes for household welfare. In Table 8.1 above, l explored the ownership of three types of durable consumer goods—electric stoves, paraffin/gas/wood stoves, refrigerators and washing machines—commodities with significant impact on the amount of time women spent on unremunerated social reproductive work (Folbre 2012; Braunstein 2016). Ownership of improved durable consumer goods is high in the resettled areas, particularly A2 areas relative to the communal areas. In A2 farming areas, 90.6 percent of households reported owning electric stoves and refrigerators. Some A2 households, particularly FHHs, have moved up the socio-economic ladder as reflected in the consumption of higher status consumer goods such as washing machines. Access to land via the FTLRP which had exceedingly raised household income flows and the availability of electricity are contributing factors to the ownership of these commodities in the A2 areas. This has positive implications for individual and household welfare, particularly for women.

The bivariate analysis (cf. Table 8.3 below) shows a strong association between times spent on reproductive work and ownership of such durable consumer goods, particularly, ownership of electric stoves. The Pearson Chi-square value of -.027 suggests that ownership of such commodities is inversely related to the amount of time women spent on unremunerated reproductive work. These findings support research findings in rural South Africa, where rural electrification and investment in time saving technologies reduced the

time spent on housework. In South Africa, this led to a concomitant 9 percent increase in formal female employment within the rural areas as it freed more time which women could devote to paid work (Dinkelman 2011).

8.2.2 Outsourcing Unremunerated Reproductive Work

Studies suggest that the option of "outsourcing unpaid care activities such as cooking, cleaning and fetching water is unaffordable and a luxury for the majority women in low-income countries, whose household daily welfare depends on them to carry out these activities" (Ferrant, Pesando and Nowacka 2014: 5). Enhanced household incomes had enabled some resettled households to outsource much or part of this work through engaging the services of housemaids. Despite Table 8.3 showing no meaningful close association between times spent on unremunerated housework and employing a housemaid, 43.8 percent of households in the A2 areas reported outsourcing unpaid care work activities. Engaging the services of a housemaid in the A2 is pegged at 60 percent within MHHs relative to 29.4 percent within FHHs. Below are selected field experiences from in-depth interviews with A2 hiring the services of paid help.

> *I had employed a maid to assist me with household chores. I bought a washing machine such that all the laundry is done while one is watching television. When it is cloudy, the machine would dry the clothes and the maid irons and packs them in the wardrobes. I feel my welfare has improved very well (In-depth Interview Female A2 Land Beneficiary 16 September 2016)*

> *In the morning, I first go to the field to arrange all the work, which needs to be done. At least by 7 o'clock, l will be back at home to do my household tasks. I am balancing both productive and household work. Even still, I find time to rest. Besides I have employed a maid to assist me with household work (In-depth Interview Female A2 Land Beneficiary 17 September 2016)*

> *I had employed a maid to assist with household work. As such l always has time to rest (In-depth Interview Female A2 Land Beneficiary 20 September 2016)*

Despite some women farmers performing farm supervisory roles, the service of paid helps allows them to find time to rest. The ability to engage the services of paid helps for the A2' women has positive implications on their individual and household welfare. Outsourcing

unremunerated housework led to a decline in amount of time spent by some resettled A2 women on such work. The net result is a positive improvement in individual welfare for resettled A2 women relative to men within these households.

Absence of outsourcing unremunerated reproductive work within the A1 areas can be explained by not having high enough household incomes; the family set up in these areas including the prevalence of polygyny relative to the A2 areas (Jacobs 1989, 1995, 2000). Field observations within the A1 area indicate that women in polygamous setups took turns to perform housework while others engage in farm work. In the case of the control group, it is largely a result of low household incomes emanating from the poor land endowment. These factors led to high rates of time poverty among women in A1 and the communal areas (see Table 8.1). The net result is a lower individual and household welfare for women in these study areas.

8.2.3 Emerging Class Dynamics in Resettlement Areas

While access to land had enhanced household incomes enabling 'wealthier peasant' women to employ paid helps, this does not advance the gender front regarding women and the burden of unremunerated reproductive work. The finding, regarding the hiring of housemaids in A2 farming areas, is a reflection of emerging class dynamics in which 'wealthier peasant' women can off-load their care burden on lower-class women. As discussed in Chapter Three, social provisioning is not only "a means of distribution which operates outside labour and capital markets" but also aims at class abatement mitigating social inequality in capitalist economies (O'Connor 1993: 503). In the A2 resettlement areas, since most maids are women, this exemplifies the case of "middle-class" women switching their care burden to other women which lower peasant women in A1 farming areas are not able to. This may be interpreted as a change without a social transformation. I argue that land reform, of its own, does not necessarily improve the care burden of women. As envisaged in the kind of social policies within a Transformative Social Policy framework, what is required is focused attention to addressing the care burden inequality within marital context especially those infused with patriarchal 'traditional' norms.

Outside the emerging class dynamics, there is a need to advocate for the socialisation of care in a bid to transform both gender and class inequalities not only within the resettlement areas but the country at large. Within the resettlement sites, no public care services provided by

government were observed. This also includes privately provided care services either for-profit by private providers or non-profit by non-governmental organisations except for a local community organised care centre. As discussed below much of the care services are provided through the family, similar to the observed familialised care set up typical in conservative welfare state in Germany and other countries with women bearing the burden of social reproductive work with insignificant help from men (see Plate 8.1 below)

8.3 Social Reproductive Infrastructure

An important component within the social reproduction function is the provision of public infrastructure such as roads, electricity, safe water supplies and sanitation services, which decrease women's market opportunity costs as they affect the time intensity of care, work (Braunstein 2015:12). Such infrastructure, particularly "electrification and improved access to water, ease the constraints on women's time" as they are associated with decrease in time devoted to reproductive work and increasing amount of time for paid work, rest and leisure (Jacobs 2010; Rai, Hoskyns and Thomas 2010; Ferrant *et al.* 2014: 9; Folbre 2012: 18). Just as research had indicated the association between rural electrification and time spent on reproductive work (Dinkelman 2011), a similar effect has been found with the provision of public services such as child care centres and primary schools (Folbre 2012:17; UNRISD 2010). Paradoxically, research had indicated that many land and agrarian "reforms are marked by poor provision of services, especially in the initial stages—it is not uncommon to find schools, clinics being in the process of construction or unavailable" (Gonese and Mukora 2003: 25; Folbre 2012:17; UNRISD 2010).

The FTLRP has been characterised by a lack of support infrastructure. The scale of the FTLRP saw the introduction of "large numbers of human populations, together with domestic animals, into areas that were hitherto sparsely settled, frequently remote and under-developed thereby increasing the demand for physical, social and economic infrastructure" (Gonese and Mukora 2003: 13). This scenario contrasts with the situation obtaining in the A2 study area, former Mkwasine Estate, where infrastructure and service provision in terms of schools, health, water supply and sanitation and energy provision, as illustrated in Table 8.1, was already developed. Table 8.2 below presents information on access to social and physical infrastructure critical in social reproduction. Whereas, the other Table 8.3 shows correlations between time spent on social reproductive work and selected social reproductive variables.

Table 8.2 Access to Social and Physical Infrastructure

	Provision of Public Services				Water Supply Sources					Energy Supply Sources			
	Child Care	Pri. School	Sec School	Health Care	Tap	B/hole	Well	Canal	Laundry Facility	Electricity	Gas	Wood	Paraffin
A2 Areas	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	53.1	68.8	9.4	18.8	3.1
A1 Areas	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.9	2.9	0.0	93.9	0.0	0.0	3.0	97.0	0.0
Communal	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	2.5	97.5	0.0	0.0	57.5	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0
Social Reproductive Activities													
1. Drinking Water													
	Distance (km)				Collection Time (hours)				Mode of Transport				Day/Frequency of Collection			
	< 0.5	1.0	> 1.0	Taped	< 0.5	1 hr	> 1hr	Taped	Head	W/barrow	Cart	Vehicle	Once	Twice	> 2	Tape
A2	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
A1	3.0	0.0	97.0	0.0	3.0	0.0	97.0	0.0	78.8	9.1	3.0	6.1	9.1	6.1	84.8	0.0
Com	95.0	2.5	0.0	2.5	92.5	5.0	0.0	2.5	75.0	22.5	0.0	0.0	30.0	32.5	35.0	2.5
2. Firewood Collection***																
A2	1.2	6.0	6.0	86.9	1.2	7.1	4.8	86.9	4.8	1.2	1.2	0.0	10.7	0.0	2.4	86.9
A1	30.3	33.3	36.4	0.0	15.2	33.3	51.5	0.0	69.7	15.2	9.1	6.1	21.2	48.5	30.3	0.0
Com	25.0	15.0	60.0	0.0	5.0	30.0	65.0	0.0	85.0	15.0	0.0	0.0	15.0	45.0	40.0	0.0

*** Frequency of collection (Weekly).

Table 8.3 Pearson Ch-Square Correlation: Time Spent on Social Reproductive Work and Selected SR Variables

SR Variables	Electric Stove	Paraffin/Gas/Wood Stove	Fridge	Washing Machine	Spouse Sharing	Employ Maid	Hire Labour**
Pearson Chi-Value	-.027	-.297	.037	.142	.050	.014	-.048
Significance level	-	0.01	-	-	-	-	0.01

* * Correlation with Time Spent on Productive Work

As presented in table 8.2, the performance of the FTLRP in terms of infrastructure and service provision for this study is best rated using the A1 study area. None of the respondents indicated provision of a publicly funded childcare centre; a primary school within a radius of 3 km; a secondary school and health centre within a radius of 5 km reflecting the inadequacy of service provision within these areas. Service provision in the A1 areas contrasts markedly in comparison to the communal areas (control group) where these services are within reach. Women's experiences regarding inadequacies in the provision of basic social services in A1 farming areas came out more clearly during in-depth interviews:

> *Primary and secondary schools are very far in this area. The closest primary school is around seven kilometres. There is a childcare centre close, but it is of poor service. The nearest clinic is 10 kilometres away. Even if we have transport, but the service is too far* (*In-depth Interview Female Married A1 Land Beneficiary 14 May 2016*).

> *Childcare centres such as crèches, primary and secondary schools are far away. Before we requested for a building nearby to be used as a crèche, children would refuse to go to school because of the long distances* (*In-depth Interview Female Polygamous Married A1 Land Beneficiary 09 May 2016*)

> *Primary and secondary schools are far. Clinics are also a distance* (*In-depth Interview Female A1 Land Beneficiary 11 May 2016*)

This reflects deficiency in social service provision in A1 farming areas. Contrastingly, in Phase One Resettlement Programme domestic water supplies were provided at a rate of one borehole with an installed hand pump per every 25 families. Within the A1 farming areas, 93.9 percent households reported accessing water for domestic use from the canal passing through their area——an unprotected water source. All A1 respondents indicated the nearest protected source for drinking water to be more than a kilometre away in contrast to the control group in which 95.0 percent indicated a protected water source within 500m reach—— an internationally recognised indicator of access (Greeney, Pfiffner and Wilson 2011). Within the A2 areas, all respondents have access to taped water. In terms of access to laundry facilities, 53.1 percent and 57.5 percent of the households in A2 and the control group respectively have access to such facilities. This is in stark contrast to the absence of such social reproductive infrastructure within the A1 areas. In terms of energy provision, 68.8 percent of the respondents indicated access to electricity within the A2 farming areas and none for the other two study areas, with the majority indicating wood as their source of energy for cooking and heating. The associated problem with the provision of clean, safe

water supplies and energy is a major concern for women as they do these tasks. This makes the provision of services, particularly social services an important site for gender struggles (Jacobs 1993: 138).

8.3.1 Time-Use Surveys (TUSs) an Indicator of Adequacy of Social Infrastructure

One method allowing researchers to measure individual total working time allocations including that for leisure is through using time-use surveys which shows "how women, men, girls and boys spent their time in each day or week" (Rai *et al.* 2010: 11; see also Folbre 2009). Most importantly from a social reproductive perspective and for this study is the utility of TUSs in "showing the effects of deficient social infrastructure (health and education) and physical infrastructure (water and electricity) on the time devoted to unpaid care work, thus insights into aspects of development not yet fully explored" (Chen, Vanek, Lund and Heintz 2005). TUSs are, particularly useful in understanding individual and household welfare of women in relation to men.

Time-use surveys presented in Table 8.2 for A1 areas, help to depict the burden on resettled women emanating from deficient support infrastructure provision. Notwithstanding 97.0 percent of respondents indicating the nearest source of water to be more than a kilometre away, and taking more than an hour for a single drinking water collection round trip, 84.8 percent of these respondents make more than two round trips of drinking water per day; 78.8 percent of these use head as a mode of transporting water for home use. This offers a reflection on the time and energy burden on resettled women for a single social reproductive task, which can be exacerbated by looking at the sheer family sizes within these areas (see page 92) This is in stark contrast to the situation that exists in the control group. Although 75.0 percent indicated head as the mode of transporting domestic water; 95.0 percent indicated a clean, safe water source within a 500m radius; with 92.5 percent taking less than 30 minutes for a single water collection round trip, suggesting less time and effort expended by women for this social reproductive task in this study area. The study findings corroborate with other research findings that rural women, and more so in resettlement areas, put in longer hours than their urban counterparts because of poor service provision in the countryside such as running water and electricity (Momsen 2004). Efforts of carrying water can absorb 25 percent of women's calorie intake, apart from firewood collection and other tasks (Momsen 2004). In Pakistan, drinking water provision was found to correlate with a decline in the time women devote to care work and the latter's enhanced participation in employment (Ilahi and Grimard 2000). Such TUSs insights on social reproduction highlight

the extent to which levels of service provision can affect the welfare of women in different geographical contexts.

While all households use firewood as their main source of energy in the A1 areas, 63.6 percent of respondents indicated firewood was available within a kilometre; 69.7 percent of the respondents use the head as the mode of transporting firewood, and close to 50 percent take an hour or less to gather firewood. These moderate percentages are likely to deteriorate over time as population increases, including the non-renewable nature of wood fuel. In the foreseeable future, this could resemble the situation in the control area where 60.0 percent of the respondents indicated that firewood is accessible at distances of more than a kilometre; 95.0 percent take an hour or more to collect firewood. As in the case of South Africa, the feasibility of rural household electrification or other alternative sources of energy needs to be examined. As such, it can be argued that investment in social and physical infrastructure contributes to reducing social reproductive burdens, with welfare benefits for women relative to men (Folbre 2012:18).

8.4 Low- and High-Road Social Reproduction

Drawing from Braunstein's (2015) low and high-road social reproduction categorisation in a paper linking economic growth, social reproduction and gender equality, a similar categorisation can be applied in analysing land reforms and welfare from a social reproductive perspective. The above framework categorises A1 areas under the low-road social reproduction characterised by "feminisation of responsibility and obligation" (FRO), which implies increasing women's responsibility for family wellbeing (Braunstein 2014: 14). Low-road social reproduction is characterised by low male contribution to social reproduction, particularly in terms of time, poor reproductive infrastructure and little provision of public care (see Table 8.1). Plate 8.1 below presents some of the field observations with regard to social reproduction within the resettlement areas. As shown in the plate, women bear the most responsibility for the time costs of rearing children, as much of the welfare and reproduction of labour is happening in the private relying on women, traditional family and kin networks with little support from either the state or men (Sehgal 2005: 2292). These are welfare provision that are highly gendered. It was not uncommon to find women working with babies on their laps or back in the fields or marketing places.

Plate 8.1 Implications of Inadequate Social and Physical Infrastructure on Women

	
A1 Female land beneficiaries working with children in the fields	A1 Female land beneficiaries grading their chilli for marketing with children at their back

Source: Field Notes (2016)

These conditions highlight the fact that within agrarian subsistence economies the separation between reproductive and productive tasks is artificial, as symbolized by women working with babies on their back or legs in the fields (Redclift and Mingione 1985; Momsen 2004).

These social reproduction conditions put the A1 study area in the low-road of social reproduction, with negative implications for the individual and household welfare for women in relation to men as it comes at the cost of women's time and effort. Though not at levels best described as high-road social reproduction, the A2 areas fare much better in terms of provision of social services and reproductive infrastructure. This creates better welfare outcomes for women, as depicted in Table 8.1, where a higher percentage of women in this group reported spending 3 hours or less on reproductive work. The situation in the A2 with regard to the provision of social services and reproductive infrastructure is not representative of the majority fast track areas. The FTLRP, in terms of service provision, is more represented by the situation obtaining in the A1 area, suggesting overall, that the social reproductive burden of women increased with resettlement. The situation remains so even more than a decade and a half post-land reform making service provision in fast track areas a policy issue requiring urgent government attention.

While land reform cannot directly attend to gender equality in domestic and reproductive work, findings by Cheater (1981) in the study of women and their participation in commercial agriculture provide some critical starting points to endogenously re-think

socialisation. The study found older women assuming a major responsibility of preparing meals and looking after children, thus allowing younger women to engage in productive work in the fields (1981: 356). As the author argues, this was particularly important during seasons of heavy labour demand. While the burden remains feminine, it makes reference to the ways socialisation was traditionally organised, providing insights on how the same can be addressed in contemporary times, particularly more so in resource-poor contexts. In a fundamentally capitalist context, there is need of more state intervention to shift the burden of care from households, particularly from women. This could either through the state underwriting much of the social reproduction (Hobson 2006; Naidu and Ossome 2016) or some form of care diamond (Razavi 2007) in which communities, non-governmental organisations, the market and men and have a key role to play. The outcome would vary with the context under which these forms of provision evolve.

8.5 Conclusion

A social reproductive perspective remains a useful tool to assess the welfare outcomes of land reforms from a gender perspective. What can be concluded from empirical evidence presented in the chapter is that the same land reforms that increased the productive capacities and social protection of female-headed households relative to male-headed households inadvertently increased the social reproductive burdens of women. This largely emanated from the observed lack of basic social service provision in fast track areas. Despite the mediating class capacity to outsource care, this does not obliterate the need for socialisation of care to guarantee cross-class welfare outcomes for women. This has to be accompanied by public provision of social services including access to water and provision of alternative forms of energy.

Chapter Nine

Conclusion

9.0 Introduction

In this thesis, l examined the link between gender, land reform and welfare in an attempt to go beyond the hegemonic frameworks which have been used in analysing not only the FTLRP in Zimbabwe but land reforms in general. Preceding chapters have highlighted the evolutions and contradictions of issues around gender and social policy in general and land reforms with specific reference to a developmental context in Africa. This concluding chapter brings those arguments together to illuminate the transformative role of land reform as a social policy instrument along its four major dimensions of production, redistribution, social protection and social reproduction from a gender perspective. Such a conceptualisation of social policy helps us not only think of social policy outside its character and form in the Global North. It highlights the imperative to rescue social policy from the residual form to which it has been confined by the neoliberal regimes since the late 1970s. This is particularly important, currently, as we reflect on social policy in the development context, particularly Africa. The chapter is organised as follows. First, I outline the key findings from this research. This is followed by a discussion on the original contribution of this thesis to current conceptual debates on social policy in a development context, particularly Africa. Secondly, I identify how my thesis adds new dimensions to our understanding of gender, land reform and social policy in Africa, drawing theoretical insights from gender and social policy in advanced nations. Lastly, I suggest how the thesis provides a nuanced view on empirical questions and debates about the lived experiences and welfare of distinct categories of women in relation to men within emergent post-fast track communities in Zimbabwe. The next section outlines the key findings from this research.

9.1 Thesis Key Findings

Findings from this research indicate that land reform as a kind of ‘in-kind’ transfer to households has greater potential “to enhance the productive capacities of citizens, households and communities”. One of the redistributive outcomes of the FTLRP was that the net transfer of land which saw average household cultivable land sizes rising from a mere 3 ha in the communal areas (Moyo and Makumbe 2000) to over 6 ha and 16 ha in small-scale A1 and

medium-scale A2 farms, respectively. In Chiredzi District the land reform, accompanied by reforms in the water sector, not only did it reduced crop losses due to adverse climatic conditions but also saw rural households integrated into high-value global agricultural commodity sugarcane and chilli production chains in the studied A2 and A1 farming areas. The enhanced income flows from their agricultural activities had enhanced not only household welfare but also saw the accumulation of productive assets from livestock to tractors. Not only has access to land enhanced household food and nutritional security; provided as a source of employment; guaranteed household source of income but also provided space to build homesteads. I argued in the thesis that access to land not only had positive welfare effects (household food security) on its beneficiaries but also provided a source of employment and enhanced their productive capacities relative to non-land beneficiaries in the surrounding communal areas. However, the highlighted exclusionary tendencies of the FTLRP for some groups, particularly former farm workers, such tendencies negatively impact on the broader positive outcomes of the programme to the society in its generality.

While social institutions and relations are resistant to change, empirical evidence collected here suggests social transformation within the resettlement areas to an extent. First, the in-kind land transfer/distribution provided an opportunity for women to hold land in their own right. This is a phenomenon uncommon in the surrounding customary communal areas where the majority of the beneficiaries came from. Land can now be registered in women (wives) names even in MHHs. Land holding and having it registered in their names had transformed the social status of women within resettlement areas. Female landholding, without a male proxy, is becoming a social norm in resettlement areas with women standing at equal footing with men as landholders. Access to land had elevated women from being farm wage labourers (See Chambati 2017: 84) to employers in their own right, employing men and other women as their part of their workforce. Consequent to transformed gendered community institutions women now form part and assume leadership positions in community decision structures as plot holders.

The effect of Statutory Instrument 53 of 2014 on the institution of inheritance within resettled areas cannot be over-emphasised. First, it provided a provision for joint registration of household land for married couples. Secondly, being categorised as 'Joint Heads of Households' the statutory instrument made female (spouses) the first heir of resettlement land after the death of husband protecting them from eviction by husband's kin or other actors. However, despite the statutory provisions, most married women perceived their access to

land as mediated through their husbands who would allocate them a piece of land to cultivate their own crops. In most cases, these pieces are smaller and at the margins of the farm with no access to irrigation. As part of social production relations within the institution of marriage, wives were found to labour first on the household and husband crop before they can work on their own plots (see also Goebel 2005; Cheater 1981; Chenaux-Repond 1993; Chimedza 1998; Jacobs 1991). Such relations of production appeared to reduce the time women can work on their own plots from which they obtain incomes they have control over. This indirectly perpetuates gender inequality and poor welfare for women in relation to men.

The social reproductive theory/approach highlighted the centrality of care services which must be provided as a public good——an investment in current and future workforce and social wellbeing of society. As the available literature suggests, women's social reproductive burden increases due to deficiencies in social service provision in resettlement areas. Lack of these social services increases not only the time cost of caregiving but also physical work of caring with negative implications on the welfare of women. While issues of service provision have been intermittently discussed in the literature, land reforms have seldomly analysed from the social reproductive perspective. Much research on gender, poverty and inequality had given attention to women's land rights and livelihoods (see Chiweshe, Chakona and Helliker 2014; Chiweshe 2015b, 2015a; Chiweshe 2011; Goebel 2005; Jacobs 2000, Jirira and Halimana 2008; Mutopo 2011, 2012, 2014; Goebel 2005; Chiweshe *et al.* 2014; Bhatasara and Chiweshe 2017; Mazhawidza and Manjengwa 2011; Chingarande 2008, 2010; Chingarande, Mugabe, Kujinga and Maguse 2012). Two chapters specifically address the questions on the extent to which land reform as a social policy instrument can result in the transformation of gendered social relations/institutions and the distribution of care work to enhance the welfare of women in relation to men.

The social reproductive perspective to land reforms revealed some important key findings on gender, land reforms and welfare. The same land reform that seeks to enhance the productive capacities of women, without a conscious effort to address the care burden inequality and avoid the diswelfares lying where it falls, can increase the social reproductive burden of women. Despite some emerging class dynamics where some wealthier 'peasant' women are able to shift their care burden by hiring maid help and purchasing time-saving household consumer goods, the lack of infrastructural provision particularly access to water and energy had resulted in endemic time poverty for women, particularly in the A1 farming areas. TUSs in the resettlement areas indicated that women spent the bulk of their time collecting water and firewood with negative economic and welfare implications. This is exacerbated by a lack

of access to child care facilities in the resettlement areas. There are traditional and modern forms of socialisation to address the burden of social reproduction, though not only in the context of land reforms alone. The literature on the welfare state provides some critical insights though it is from a resource-rich context, men are also potential contributors to social reproductive time and effort. Secondly, as observed by Cheater (1981), older women were responsible for preparation of meals and tending small children——a form of social organisation that frees younger women to engage in productive work in the fields. While the responsibility remains feminine, it provides starting points in endogenously rethinking social policy, particularly so in resource-constrained contexts.

9.2 Contribution to Social Policy Debates in Africa

With the rise of neoliberal inspired structural adjustments and stabilisation programmes since the 1990's (Mkandawire 2004: 3), social policy in Africa was assigned a residual social protection with targeted cash transfers as the instrument of choice to address inequality and intergenerational transmission of poverty (Adesina 2011; Holmes et a 2010; Yi 2015:2; Lister 2010:46). This reduced social policy from being a developmental project to poverty reduction, representing a reduced vision of social policy (Adesina 2010:9, 2011; Mkandawire 2004; Yi 2015). In Africa, as elsewhere in the developing world, not only did social policy narrowed from its traditional broader conceptualisation to social protection but adopted targeted means-tested approaches targeting the chronically or ultra-poor. This contrasted greatly to an expanded vision of encompassing welfare state (Korpi and Palme 1998; Adesina 2010; Yi 2015). The disconnection of the social and the broader economic aspects of development had seen inequality, poverty and vulnerability rising in Africa (Mkandawire 2005; Adesina 2011).

Thus, it has been concluded, within social policy debates on Africa, that the residual social protection approach reflects the neoliberal failure to challenge the underlying factors to persistent poverty and vulnerability. This thesis sieves through the debates on social policy in developing countries, particularly in Africa, where social policy remains "concentrated on the introduction of cash transfer programs for people living in poverty" (Townsend 2009). I argued that the residual social policy take, with a focus on cash transfer, is emblematic of liberal welfare regime types forced through the Americanisation of "social policy in many countries of the Global South". In contrast, social policy in the social democratic and to an extent, conservative welfare states was directed towards creating human capital "as part of the broader social policy design" (Jenson 2012). In like manner was the East Asian Tigers'

social policy framework, which paid attention to collective investment in human capital. This calls for a revisit to social policy approaches currently being advocated by international development and aid agencies in Africa.

Empirical findings from this research make a significant contribution to knowledge and debates on social policy in Africa as they are cutting-edge on discussions on the continent in terms of transformative social policy and the extent to which it can address the myriad of challenges facing the continent. The idea of transformative social policy, the framework informing this study, speaks to social policy issues in a developing world context, particularly in Africa. This is of particular importance, taking cognizance that a sizeable portion of Africa's population still resides in the countryside dependent on agriculture for their livelihoods (Mkandawire 2014: 26).

The research findings from this study are critical, particularly at a time when the dominant neoliberal economic policy in Africa had failed to deliver welfare to many. It brings "to the fore, again, the failure of decades of market-driven economic policies to solve the myriad of Africa's development challenges". In the thesis, I argue "that the state should play a crucial role through social policies" to facilitate access to social services and intervene to affect the distribution of productive resources, such as land and water, through land and water reforms. The latter, I argue, are more effective social policy instruments than the current social protection approaches mainly propagated in the form of cash transfers. Such a proposition is coinciding with "a growing recognition on the continent that the removal of subsidies on agricultural inputs, closure of state-owned crop marketing agencies, the low level of public investment in agricultural infrastructure and the lack of attention to access and equity in market-led reforms in land tenure policies—all instituted in the early 1980's under neoliberal auspices"—have failed to deliver agrarian transformation and industrialisation with associated human prosperity. Rather, poverty and gender inequality have increased in many African countries (Tsikata and Amanor-Wilks 2009:2; Araya and Chung 2015:136). Armed with empirical findings from this research, transformative social policy provides a framework in rethinking Africa's development in the 21st century.

9.3 Thesis Contribution to Gender and Social Policy in Africa

Feminist contributions to welfare state research highlighted the gendered nature of social welfare theory, approaches and methodologies which had remained hidden, invisible and taken for granted. This literature pertains mainly to the study of welfare in the context of the Global North. However, there are critical insights the Global South can draw from the study

of gender and social policy in the North as questions on gender equality in social welfare policies in the former remains under-developed. More research is yet to be conducted linking social policy; gender equality and welfare on the continent. Though not specifically in the context of conventional social welfare (policy) instruments/mechanisms, this thesis stimulates rigorous debates on gender and social policy in Africa. By shifting discussions from "gender discrimination towards a more equal distribution of care responsibilities in society; greater public support for care services" feminist writers sought to indicate that women are bearing the greatest personal cost of care.

Juxtaposing the above empirical findings against the hegemonic poverty reduction and livelihoods approaches to land reforms and the FTLRP in particular, the thesis makes a significant contribution to the study of gender and development in Africa. In as much as social policy development is under-studied, the effect of diverse types of social policies on the gender divide in development contexts is less explored. Given the paucity of writing on land reform as a social policy instrument, in general, and especially in terms of its links with issues of gender, this thesis pioneers a new area of study in this field. Besides filling lacuna, in terms of literature on gender; land reforms and social policy, it provides material that is context-based and relevant across the continent which can be used for teaching as well as policy development. By posing land reforms as a relational question with potential for social transformation, the study underscores the sociality of gender, the ways it affects individual lives and social interactions. This perspective not only contributes to research on the impact and success of the FTLRP on reversing colonial legacy that has perpetuated marginalisation but adds a dimension on the extent to which the reforms contributed to the women's welfare. The social reproductive theory illuminates' women's considerable care responsibilities. In the absence of any social policy intervention, this disproportionate burden of reproductive activities remains at the heart of gender inequalities, particularly in the development context. This reasserts gender inequity as the unresolved contemporary agrarian question in Africa.

9.4 Contribution to Empirical Questions and Debates on Lived Experiences of Women

Intersectionality, in gender studies, is an invaluable analytical tool in explicating gender, poverty, inequalities, and diverse forms of oppression (see Shields 2008: 301). As an analytical approach, intersectionality posits that each "person is positioned in society at the intersection of multiple social axes" (see Gopaldas and Fischer (2012: 393). Pertaining to this research study, the critical social axes were race, class, marital status, including gender. Already identified is the intersectionality of gender and class in which access to land and

integration into high-value commodity production had enabled wealthier 'peasant' women to outsource their care responsibilities while poor peasant women are not. These class differences in the capacity to outsource care have concomitant welfare effects on one group of women relative to another. As such, the lived experiences of women in Chiredzi District cannot be generalised, thus proving the utility of intersectionality in gender and other sources of inequality.

This forms one of the thesis's critical contribution to knowledge as earlier literature did not adequately focused on welfare outcomes of the FTLRP particularly women. Empirical findings from this study provide a nuanced view and lived experiences from the perspective of women. Its major contribution lies in its micro-level analysis, rather than categorising women as a homogenous group as has been the norm with preceding studies on gender and the FTLRP. The research study endeavoured to capture the experiences and voices of women in their distinct categories. Coming out prominently and less mentioned about in the literature on gender and the FTLRP are the experiences of women, especially those in polygamous marriages——a category missed by many studies. Unlike the former race-; class-; or gender-only studies on land reforms, this research made use of both among-intersection and within-intersection analysis to highlight the extent to which the unique experiences of women in polygamous marriages have been overlooked through homogenisation. Findings from this research attest that the lived experiences and welfare of women in 'polygamous' marriages (intersection analysis) may be far worse off than any other social identity category of women——an area in need of further research. This has policy implications on how land and agrarian reforms can be designed and implemented for more gender equality in welfare, particularly in the African context where polygyny is a widespread practice.

9.5 Policy Recommendations

This section will begin with general policy recommendations to the FTLRP programme, some of which may not be very specific to the study, before moving to those based on empirical findings from Chiredzi District with its own distinct economic, social, climatic and environmental characteristics.

One of the redistributive outcomes of the FTLRP was the creation of a favourable agrarian structure for broad-based participation in growing the economy. Much of the proceeds from agriculture now accrue to a wider section of the society through self and wage employment in contrast to the former LSCFs-farm labour model. This is a result of the massive changes to

the Zimbabwean agricultural sector in terms of farm size, which had led to smaller sizes of farms and increased number of farmers though still operating at sub-optimal levels.

9.5.1 Agricultural Input and Output Markets

A contradiction exists on existing liberalised agricultural markets in the country with the objectives of the FTLRP. The government had liberalised the agricultural market for maize and wheat, including all other crops. However, the Grain Marketing Board (GMB) is still mandated with the role of maintaining and management of strategic grain reserves. To drive the supply chain, there is a need for adequate financial resources to the GMB for timely payments for farmers' produce. Counter to public efforts to enhance productivity are private sector concerns about subsidised and free agricultural inputs as they discourage investment in the rural areas. There is a need for a realignment of the government economic and social policy to avoid inconsistencies in the country's development path.

In terms of access to agricultural markets, the A2 farming areas have a secure market through Tongaat Hulletts Zimbabwe. In the case of A1 farmers, they must find own-marketing channels for livestock and other crops except for chilli which they sell to Better Agriculture. In line with the prevailing liberalised agricultural input markets, in the case of A2 farmers, the majority indicated access to agricultural inputs on credit from Tongaat Hulletts on a 30-day account with high interests grossly inappropriate for a perennial crop like sugarcane. This exposes farmers to the vagaries of the market with no protection from the state. The A1 farmers only get inputs on credit for the specialised crop and must fend for themselves on the market for agricultural inputs of the other crops they are cultivating. I recommend the government to facilitate farmers' access to agricultural inputs directly from the manufacturers, either through organised farmer associations, as this would be cheaper for them than the current arrangement if sustained farm productivity is to be maintained.

9.5.2 Agricultural Finance Services

Access to agricultural loans is critical to enhancing farmer productive capacities. Even though a sizeable number of A2 farmers indicated access to bank loans, the short-term basis is not appropriate for agricultural production like sugar cane with long production periods. On the other hand, financial institutions are less willing to accept current land documents that farmers hold as collateral security. Alternative financing instruments must be devised requiring no need to convert land documents into title deeds for use as acceptable collateral by agricultural credit institutions. Going the land titling route require contingent measures to

address challenges of farmers defaulting and risk of becoming landless. Besides, in Kenya, where titling was the norm, it has not enhanced farmers' access to credit. There are innovative instruments for agricultural finance which can be adapted to the current situation in the country requiring no use of land as collateral. These include;

- First, government credit guarantees for agricultural sector loans encourage banks to give out more loans to agriculture. A good example is the Agricultural Credit Guarantee Scheme Fund (ACGSF), a policy instrument of the Federal Government of Nigeria established to facilitate the flow of agricultural credit to farmers.
- Second, patient capital from large sources of funds such as the country's pension funds from the National Social Security Agency (NSSA) can create sizeable agricultural sector portfolios adaptable to the country's agricultural sector. Such institutions can provide agricultural credit to farmers at low lending rates relative to the current market rates with potential to boost agricultural production. This is part of the transformative social policy approach when public funds (pensions) are used to support the productive sectors of the economy at individual, household, community and national level.
- Third, are strategic Public-Private Partnerships (PPPs) model involving a holistic agricultural value chain approach. A good case in point is the Successful Rural Sugarcane Farming Community Project (SusCo) from this study (see Chapter Five). It was a partnering between governments, private funding institutions and rural communities which led to the establishment of a 4-year revolving US$20 million financing scheme for the sugar cane farmers. Similar PPPs can be established in various agricultural sectors (Isuekebhor 2014).

All these mechanisms have the potential to enhance farmers access to agricultural credit not only at lower lending rates but also without involving land as collateral foreclosing the possibility of land concentration and landlessness.

9.5.3 Extension Services

This study found agricultural extension services beig made available to farmers through a mixture involving public and private, service providers (Chapter Five). In Zimbabwe, public extension services are provided by Agritex (crops), the Department of Livestock and Veterinary Services, and the Department of Irrigation Services. There is a need to build public sector capacity to enhance productivity within farming areas. Adoption of alternative

extension approaches such as the lead farmer, farmer field schools and innovation platforms will help increase the out-reach of extension services providers.

9.5.4 Statutory Instrument 53 of 2014

While the government is commended highly for promulgating the latest progressive instrument governing agricultural land settlement in the country through S.I. 53 of 2014, and the extent to which it resolved the ever conflicting customary and civil law in terms of land relations, more needs to be done on the ground. While a sizeable number of women and men are aware of the existence of this statutory instrument, there is still a challenge in terms of women exercising their claims. As indicated by the District Lands Officer, many land cases are dealt with by traditional courts which would rule in line with customary law, disadvantaging women. In view of this, I recommend FTLRP land resettlement areas to be technically outside the jurisdiction of 'traditional chiefs.' This should be backed up by a statutory instrument that clearly defines land claims in these areas as outside the jurisdiction of the 'traditional chief.' Alternatively, a statutory instrument specifying how land disputes are to be adjudicated—with office bearers such as the DLOs being part of the bench must be promulgated. In this regard, the government can work with the non-governmental organisation to provide advice and representation, pro-bono, for women. An appeal mechanism should also be in place, that then moves the case from the traditional courts to designated Lands Claims Courts, all the way to the Constitutional Court. This will make the provisions of S.I 53 of 2014 a reality for women in resettlement areas to protect them on the land and secure household welfare. This must be accompanied by awareness campaigns on the latest land instrument across the country backed up with resources to provide advice, particularly to women on how to make land claims.

Taking cognisance that the conditions prevailing in the communal areas, used as the control group in this study, were a result of over a century of subdivision of land due to patterns of inheritance, section 7 of S.I 53 of 2014 is particularly welcome. The section prohibits cessation, assigning, hypothecating, sublet or alienation of resettlement land. This section counters generational subdivision of land leading to unsustainable and inviable land sizes. By interpretation, the statutory instrument suggests that, while the plot can be inherited, any grown-up son (or daughter) in need of land has to seek it outside the plot to avoid the fate of communal areas.

9.5.5 Research and Development

R&D is critical in enhancing productivity through increasing farmer access to existing technologies and support adaptation of promising biotechnologies. Due to the prevailing economic challenges, public funding to research and development had dwindled coupled with a massive exodus of experienced staff. This is an area in need of urgent attention to allow the country to become competitive again. This is in line with one of the findings in this research from one of the study sites. The A2 sugarcane farmers were found to have access to private-sector research through the Zimbabwe Sugarcane Association (ZSA)——a farmers' levy supported private organisation conducting research on sugarcane production. In the case of A1 farmers, they have access to R&D through Better Agriculture, a private company working with the farmers in the production of chilli. While this is important, private companies always focus on products of interest, they do not cover all the crops cultivated by the farmers. Thus, R&D remains the prerogative of the public sector.

The following are policy recommendations specific to Chiredzi.

9.5.6 Investment in irrigation services

While investment in irrigation in the whole country is now imperative considering the recurrent droughts emanating from climate change, Chiredzi is a drought-prone district but endowed with very rich vertisols suitable for irrigation. This is addition to the existence of major river such as the Runde, Save and Mutirikwi draining through the district providing a high potential for irrigation expansion. As empirical evidence suggests from the A1 study area, if irrigation is expanded to cover all other A1 farming areas currently practising dryland farming—in the words of the District Agricultural Extension Officer echoed by the Districts Land Officer and the Chiredzi sub-Catchment Field Officer—the district alone has potential to feed the whole nation. The officers argued that with the coming on board of the Tokwe-Mukosi Dam there is need to lobby the government so that the irrigation water from the dam benefits newly resettled farmers rather than estate companies already enjoying access to irrigation water. The warm winters in the district enable cultivation of the staple maize all year boosting the country's grain reserves.

Field observations in the A1 study area showed that all irrigation water to the fields from the main canal is conveyed via earth canals, including earth night storage dams. This results in excessive water losses through seepage with farmers at the lower end, having challenges of accessing adequate water. Despite the vertisols in the district being suitable for irrigation,

more hectarage could be put under irrigation if farmers had access to credit to construct concrete water conveyance networks to their fields as seen in the Mkwasine A2 farming areas. This would drastically reduce water loss as water is becoming a scarce productive commodity. This is despite efforts by the Department of Irrigation Services programmes on water efficiency and utilisation training programmes conducted in all wards with access to irrigation.

9.5.7 Provision of Infrastructure and Social Services

It is widely acknowledged and commended that Phase One of the resettlement programme (1980-1998) was characterised by adequate service provision prior to beneficiary emplacement. Phase Two of the programme, popularly known as the FTLRP, was characterised by lack of funds exerting greater pressure on the government for pre- or post-settlement service provision. This is one aspect of the problem in the design and implementation of the FTLRP. The first is that the chaotic/spontaneous nature of the land occupation—with the state playing catch-up—made planning impossible. Added to that was that extreme fiscal constraint the state faced which affected and continue to affect the provision of social services in resettlement areas. The third point is that the neoliberal bent in social service provision contrasts sharply with the greater role accorded the state in social provisioning in the 1980s. In the A1 study area, no source of safe drinking water is within reach of the land beneficiaries, including clinics and schools which could only be accessed in the neighbouring old resettlement ward. This exerts heavy burdens on women as they are responsible for much of the social reproductive tasks within the household. I recommend the government speedily address the provision of infrastructure and social services within resettlement areas to enhance the welfare of women for gender equality. The situation is quite different in the A2 areas as the former estate had established much of these infrastructure and services, though with its own set of challenges as discussed below.

9.5.8 Formation of Corporate Board for Mkwasine Area

Following the exit of the Estate from Mkwasine as government acquired the plantation for resettlement purposes, there is an urgent need for the government to facilitate the formation of a corporate body to manage the affairs of the area. All infrastructure—including water, electricity, roads, schools, and clinics—now belong to the farmers (land beneficiaries) collectively unlike in Hippo Valley and Triangle where the Estate retained part of its plantations. Currently, there is no corporate body to manage physical infrastructure at

Mkwasine. With deteriorating service provision I recommend an urgent need for such a corporate body to collect levies and provide services, and to restore the Mkwasine to its former glory.

9.5.9 Sugarcane Milling Plant for Mkwasine

As discussed in the thesis, prior to the FTLRP, small-scale sugarcane out-growers of the Chipiwa old resettlement scheme of the former Mkwasine Estate had an agreement with the latter to cover all haulage costs of cane from the field to the mills in Hippo Valley or Triangle as Mkwasine had no milling plant of its own. The Estate undertook the haulage work as it was envisaged that it would not be economically viable for planters to invest capital in the haulage equipment (Wilson *et al.* 1986: 213). Following the increased number of out-growers and exit of the Estate, the latter relegated the haulage costs to farmers who now shoulder the costs of cane haulage from their fields either to the Hippo Valley or Triangle Mill by the National Railways of Zimbabwe or by road—distances of 50km and 75 km respectively. Discussions with the farmers indicate that haulage costs constitute a substantial amount which could have accrued to the farmers had Mkwasine had its own milling plant. Considering this, I would recommend that the government should invest in a milling plant at Mkwasine. This will not only create jobs but also enhance productivity and revenues flow of the newly resettled farmers, as well as the Chipiwa old resettlement farmers.

9.5.10 Provision of Housing

Also observed during field was that in the old resettlement schemes, including the Chipiwa in Mkwasine, at the time of occupation, each planter was provided with a core brick and asbestos dwelling unit consisting of two rooms with a shower/toilet, serviced with electricity, and piped purified and raw water. Residential plots were half a hectare including a potion for growing vegetables and raising poultry. The residential plots were arranged in groups within easy walking distance of the sugarcane plots. Labourers employed by the planters were accommodated in permanent housing near the fields. No such provision could be made with the moving of selected sugarcane plots beneficiaries of the FTLRP. Early up-takers of plots managed to occupy residential houses left by former estate managers but this could not suffice to accommodate close to 500 land beneficiaries and their families moving into Mkwasine. Eventually, according to field observations, some had to settle within farm labourer compounds to date as the plot-layout does not permit settling on the plot as in the case of self-contained A1 plots in other areas. This, however, did not involve displacement of

former Estate workers who still continue to occupy their residential units. I recommend the government to set aside a piece of land for residential purposes for the A2 sugarcane farmers as their incomes enable them to construct their own housing to reduce current overcrowding at Mkwasine.

9.6 Conclusion

This brief chapter outlined the thesis's contributions to the existing body of knowledge. Three areas of contribution to knowledge were outlined. First, the thesis findings make a significant contribution to the study of social policy in Africa. The second area of contribution pertains to gender and social policy debates in Africa. This represents an understudied research area in Africa. Little is known on how social policy can be harnessed for gender equality and enhancement of the welfare of women in relation to men. The last contribution to knowledge took an intersectional approach to look at the welfare of women in polygamous marriages in the context of land reforms——an area in need of further research. The chapter concluded focusing on recommendations first on the FTLRP in general and on Chiredzi District with its own peculiarities. Overall, I argued that gender-equitable redistributive land reforms have potential to enhance the productive capacities of women, transform social relations and institutions; protect FHHs households from socio-economic vulnerabilities, and when accompanied by adequate provision of social services, can enhance the welfare of women relative to men.

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Appendices

A: Research Instruments

Survey Questionnaire

University of South Africa
(SARChI Chair in Social Policy)

SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

Gender Land Reform and Welfare Outcomes

CHIREDZI DISTRICT

Respondent Mobile Number	|___|___|___|___|___|___|___|___|___|___|

Hello, my name is …….. I am a doctoral research student with the University of South Africa based at the African Institute of Agrarian Studies (AIAS). We work closely with the Government and other stakeholders. I am here to conduct a survey on resettlement schemes to evaluate the impacts of the Fast Track Land Reform Programme. It is, therefore, vital that you provide us with detailed and accurate information. The collected information will be treated with utmost confidence. The interview will take approximately 1 hr 30 minutes. If you have any questions you may ask before we begin the interview.

Universal Instructions

This survey will be used in conjunction with a consent form signed by the respondent.

Please use the following universal codes throughout the questionnaire.

-1 Don't Know

-2 Refused to Answer -3 Non Applicable

Start time |___|___|___|___| End time |___|___|___|___|

Name of supervisor **Prof. J Adesina**	**Date Checked** |___|___|___|___|___|___|

QN No. |_____|

A. ADMINISTRATIVE INFORMATION

A1. Enumerator's name _____serial No.|__|__|__|
A2. Date of interview (DD/MM/YY) |__|__|__|__|__|__|
A3. Place of interview _____

B. LOCATION/IDENTIFICATION DETAILS

B1. Model Type.

1= A1 villagised 2=A1 self-contained 3=A2 4=A2 peri-urban 5=remaining LSCF 6=Communal Areas

|___|

B2. District _____

B3. Natural Region _____

B4. Village _____

B5. Ward

_____

_ B6. Chieftainship

_____

_

B7. Headman _____

B8. Original Farm Name _____

B9. Neighbour's name _____

B10. Name of head of household _____

B11. Name of plot owner

_____ B11.

Plot Number |____|

B12.1 Gender of plot owner 1=male 2=female |___| B12.2 Age |_____|

B13. Name of respondent_____

B14. Is respondent household head? *1=yes 0=No*|____|

B15. If not, relationship to household head *1=wife 2=husband 3=son 4=daughter 5=relative 6=worker 99=other specify*

|___|

C. SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND DEMOGRAPHIC DATA (ASK OF PLOT OWNER)

NB. C1 TO C8 – NEWLY REDISTRIBUTED AREAS ONLY, COMMUNAL AREAS GO TO C9

No.	Question
C1.	What year did you settle on this farm?
C2.	Where were you before being resettled here? *1=CA in this district 2=CA in this province 3= CA from other provinces 4=LSCF in this district 5=LSCF in this province 6=LSCF in another province 7=diaspora 8=urban area 9=place of employment in another area 10=old resettlement 99=other (specify)*
C3.	If Communal Area, do you still maintain ownership? *1=yes 2=no* ***(If no, move to C9)***
C4.	If yes, how many people reside there?
C5	Reason for maintaining Communal Area home ownership? *1=to boost production 2=to reduce risk of crop failure 3=in case of eviction 4=because of sentimental values 5=home to part of the extended family 99=other (specify)*

C6	What is the size of the arable plot in the Communal Area?(ha)
C7	Are there any agricultural activities taking place in the CA?*1=yes 2=no* ***(If no go toC9)***
C8	If yes, please specify the activities? *1=crop production only 2=livestock production only 3=crop and livestock*

C9	Are you in professional employment? *1=yes 2=no*
C10	If yes, what is your current profession? *1=private sector managerial 2=civil service managerial 3=self-employed 4=uniformed forces 5=private sector semi-skilled 6=civil service semi-skilled 7=domestic worker 8=farm worker 99=other specify*
C11	If no, were you previously employed? *1=yes 2=no*
C12	Are you on pension? *1=yes 2=no*
C13	If no longer employed year you were last in employment (YY)
C14	Period in specified profession (years)

C15. Demographic characteristics of the household QN No. |_____|

Name of Household Member		Sex[1]	Age	Occupation[2]	Marital Status[3]	Education Level Attained[4]	Relationship to HH head[5]	Formal Agricultural Training[6]	Residency[7]	If off-farm specify[7]
1	Informant	|___|	|____|	|___|	|___|	|___|	|___|	|___|	|___|	|___|
2	Plot holder	|___|	|____|	|___|	|___|	|___|	|___|	|___|	|___|	|___|
3		|___|	|____|	|___|	|___|	|___|	|___|	|___|	|___|	|___|
4		|___|	|____|	|___|	|___|	|___|	|___|	|___|	|___|	|___|
5		|___|	|____|	|___|	|___|	|___|	|___|	|___|	|___|	|___|
6		|___|	|____|	|___|	|___|	|___|	|___|	|___|	|___|	|___|
7		|___|	|____|	|___|	|___|	|___|	|___|	|___|	|___|	|___|
8		|___|	|____|	|___|	|___|	|___|	|___|	|___|	|___|	|___|
9		|___|	|____|	|___|	|___|	|___|	|___|	|___|	|___|	|___|
10		|___|	|____|	|___|	|___|	|___|	|___|	|___|	|___|	|___|
11		|___|	|____|	|___|	|___|	|___|	|___|	|___|	|___|	|___|
12		|___|	|____|	|___|	|___|	|___|	|___|	|___|	|___|	|___|

[1] ***1=male 2=female***

[2] *1= permanent paid employee 2= casual employee 3= employer 4= farmer5= paid farm worker 6=unpaid family worker 7= self employed 8=student 9= housewife 10 =pre-school 99=other specify*

[3] ***1= monogamously married civil law two monogamously married common law 3 polygamous married 4=single 5=divorced/separated 6=widowed***

[4] *1= no formal education 2= some primary education 3= completed primary education 4= some secondary education ordinary level 5=completed secondary education 6=completed advanced level 7= college education 8=university degree 9= vocational training 99=other (specify)*

[5] ***1=self 2=son 3=daughter 4=wife 5=husband 6=relative 7=worker 8= mother 9= farmer 99=other (specify)***

[6] *1=no formal training 2=certificate 3=master farmer certificate 4=advanced master farmer certificate 5=diploma 6=degree 99=other (specify)* [7] ***1=on-farm 2=off-farm*** [7] *1=communal area 2=urban area 3=diaspora 99=other (specify)*

Research Question 1: Enhancement of productive capacities and accumulation

D. AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

Land Base

D1. How much land does this household own? (all in ha) |_____|

	Holdings	Type of settlement[1]	(a) Homestead land	(b) Arable fields	(c) Wetland/ gardens (away from homestead)	(d) Grazing land	Other land
1	Owned	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|
2	Sharecropped in	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|
3	Borrowed	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|
4	Rented out (for money)	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|
5	Rented in (for money)	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|
6	Sharecropped out	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|
7	Lent out (for free)	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|

[1]**Type of Settlement** *1= A1 villagised 2=A1 self-contained 3=A2 4=A2 peri-urban 5=remaining LSCF 6=communal areas*

D2. Does the land you have to adequate for the following purposes?

Response	Land Function	Produce enough food for family	Lent out for free	Produce surplus crop for sale to meet other household costs eg education, health etc	Keep livestock and other animals	Do other income generating activities other than farming	Building enough housing for family	Playing space for children
1= Yes 2= No		|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|

D3. How much land have you put under cropping over the last three years?

		Year settled	2013	2014	2015
1	Size (Ha)	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|

D4. Does the land holding you have helping to enhance your own welfare and that of your household members?

1=yes 2= No |_____|

D5. Indicate means of draught power used for tillage.

Draught power source	Own animals	Hired animals	Own tractor	DDF	ARDA	Private tractor	Tractor from relative/friend	Animal from relative/friend
1= Yes 2= No	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|

CROP PRODUCTION QN No. |_____|

D6. Which dry land and irrigated crops did you grow in these past seasons?

	Crop	2011/12					2013/14					2015/16		
		Reason for growing crop[3]	Area in Ha		Output harvested (in Kgs)		Reason for growing crop[1]	Area in Ha		Output Harvested in Kgs		Reason for growing crop[1]	Area in Ha	
			Dry	*Irrigated*	*Dry*	*Irrigated*		*Dry*	*Irrigated*	*Dry*	*Irrigated*		*Dry*	*Irrigated*
1	Maize													
2	Wheat													
3	Cotton													
4	Tobacco													
5	Groundnuts													
6	Millet													
7	Sorghum													
8	Rapoko													
9	Sunflower													
10	Soyabeans													
11	Sweet potatoes													
12	Sugar cane													
13	Sugarbeans													
14	Cowpeas /nyemba													

[3] **Reason** *1=GoZ directive 2=own consumption 3=profitability of venture 4=compatibility with available equipment 5=influenced by past land uses 6=to ensure land sustainability 7=inputs easily available 99=other (specify*

15	Roundnuts (nyimo)													
16	Other *(specify)*													
17														
18														

QN No. |_____|

D7.	Are there any horticultural crops that you grew in the last three seasons? *1=yes 2=no* ***(If no go toD9)***	|_____|

D8. If yes, provide the following details.

	Crop	**2013**					**2014**					**2015**				
		Reason for growing crop[4]	**Area in Ha**		**Output harvested in (equivalent 50Kg bags)**		**Reason for growing crop[1]**	**Area in Ha**		**Output Harvested in (equivalent 50Kg bags)**		**Reason for growing crop[1]**	**Area in Ha**		**Output Harvested in (equivalent 50Kg bags)**	
			Dry	***Irrigated &G/house***	***Dry***	***Irrigated & G/house***		***Dry***	***Irrigated & G/house***	***Dry***	***Irrigated & G/house***		***Dry***	***Irrigated & G/house***	***Dry***	***Irrigated &G/house***
1	Baby corn															
2	Pumpkins															
3	Watermelons															
4	Okra															
5	Tomatoes															
6	Rape															

[4] ***Reason****1=GoZ directive 2=food security 3=foreign currency generation 4=profitability of venture 5=compatibility with available equipment 6=influenced by past land uses 7=to ensure land sustainability 99=other (specify)*

7	Onions															
8	Peas															
9	Green beans															
10	Gen squash															
11	Cabbage															
12	Rugare/covo															
13	Cut flowers															
14	Butternut															
15	Potatoes															
16	Paprika															
17	Other *(specify)*															

D9.	Are you engaged in crop contract farming? *1=yes 2=no* ***(If no go to D14)***	|____|
D10	If yes which year did you start contract farming? (YY)	|___|___|

D11. Provide information on contract farming

Crop	**2012/13**				**2013/14**				**2015/16**			
	Companies involved	**Area (ha)**	**Support[5]**	**Value (USD)**	**Companies involved**	**Area (ha)**	**Support [6]**	**Value (USD)**	**Companies involved**	**Area (ha)**	**Support[1]**	**Value (USD)**

[5] ***Support****1=seed 2=fertilisers 3=chemicals 4= technical advice 5= seed/fert 6=seed/chemicals 7=seed/fert/chemicals/technical advice/transport 99=other (specify)*

D12. Have you faced any challenges with contract farming? *1=yes 2=no* ***(If no go to D14)*** \|____\| D13. If yes, what challenges have you faced with contract farming?

	Crop (use codes from G23)	**Challenges[1]**		
		2011/12	**2013/14**	**2015/16**
1	|____|	|____||____||____|	|____||____||____|	|____||____||____|
2	|____|	|____||____||____|	|____||____||____|	|____||____||____|

[6] ***Challenges*** *1=limited hectarages 2=late supply of inputs 3=inadequate credit 4=poor output prices 5=high input charges 6=interpretation of contract 99=other (specify)* ***(indicate as many as possible)***

1	Commercial Maize		_____	___			_____	___			_____	___	
2	Seed maize		_____	___			_____	___			_____	___	
3	Cotton		_____	___			_____	___			_____	___	
4	Sorghum		_____	___			_____	___			_____	___	
5	Soyabeans		_____	___			_____	___			_____	___	
6	Tobacco		_____	___			_____	___			_____	___	
7	Sugarcane		_____	___			_____	___			_____	___	
8	Tea		_____	___			_____	___			_____	___	
9	Coffee		_____	___			_____	___			_____	___	
10	Citrus		_____	___			_____	___			_____	___	
11	Wheat		_____	___			_____	___			_____	___	
12	Groundnut		_____	___			_____	___			_____	___	
13	Sunflower		_____	___			_____	___			_____	___	
14	Other *(specify)*		_____	___			_____	___			_____	___	

LIVESTOCK PRODUCTION

D14.1 How many of the following livestock types did you have during these years?

		Year Settled	2015						2016					
		No.	**No. owned**	**Bought**	**Value of purchases (USD)**	**Source of $[1]**	**Birth**	**Other sources[2]**	**No. owned**	**Bought**	**Value of purchases (USD)**	**Source of $**	**Birth**	**Other sources**
1	Cattle	_____	_____	_____		_____	_____	_____	_____	_____		_____	_____	_____
2	Goats	_____	_____	_____		_____	_____	_____	_____	_____		_____	_____	_____
3	Sheep	_____	_____	_____		_____	_____	_____	_____	_____		_____	_____	_____
4	Donkeys	_____	_____	_____		_____	_____	_____	_____	_____		_____	_____	_____
5	Pigs	_____	_____	_____		_____	_____	_____	_____	_____		_____	_____	_____
6	Rabbits	_____	_____	_____		_____	_____	_____	_____	_____		_____	_____	_____
7	Free range chicken	_____	_____	_____		_____	_____	_____	_____	_____		_____	_____	_____

8	Broilers	_____	_____	_____		_____	_____	_____	_____	_____		_____	_____	_____
9	Layers	_____	_____	_____		_____	_____	_____	_____	_____		_____	_____	_____
10	Turkey	_____	_____	_____		_____	_____	_____	_____	_____		_____	_____	_____
11	Guinea fowls	_____	_____	_____		_____	_____	_____	_____	_____		_____	_____	_____
12	Other (*specify*)	_____	_____	_____		_____	_____	_____	_____	_____		_____	_____	_____

1 *1=proceeds from agric sales 2=personal savings outside agric 3=loan from bank 4=remittances from diaspora 5=local remittances*

[2]*1= moved from communal area 2= Governmnent livestock programme 3= NGOs 4= given by relative or friend 5= lobola 6= traditional fine 99 Other (specify)*

D14.2 **(married women)** Indicate livestock owned in one's own right ***(If not go to D15)***

	Type of livestock	**Numbers**		**Source of animals[1]**	
1	Cattle	_____	_____	_____	_____
2	Donkeys	_____	_____	_____	_____
3	Goats	_____	_____	_____	_____
4	Other (specify)	_____	_____	_____	_____

1 *1=proceeds from agric sales 2=personal savings outside agric 3=loan from bank 4=remittances from diaspora 5=local remittances 6= lobola 7= NGO 99= Other (specify)*

D15.	Do you sometimes keep livestock on behalf of other farmers? *1=yes 2=no****(If no go to D17)***	_____

D16. If yes, what livestock species and numbers are involved in this arrangement?

	Type of livestock	**Numbers**		**Source of animals[1]**	
		2013	**2014**	**2015**	**2016**
1	Cattle	_____	_____	_____	_____
2	Donkeys	_____	_____	_____	_____
3	Goats	_____	_____	_____	_____
4	Pigs	_____	_____	_____	_____
5	Other *(specify)*	_____	_____	_____	_____

[1]**Source of animals kept on the farm***1=communal areas 2=old resettlements 3=SSCF 4=LSCF 5=A1 6=A2 99=other (specify)*

No	Question	Response
D17	Are there any agricultural activities that you are undertaking jointly with others on your plot in 2015/16? *1=yes 2=no****(if no go to D23)***	|_____|
D18	If yes, what agricultural activities are you jointly undertaking? *1=crop production only 2=livestock production only 3=crop and livestock*	|_____|
D19	With whom are you involved in joint agricultural operations? *1=friend 2=relative 3=business partner 4=former LSCF owner 99=other specify*	|_____|
D20	On how much land area are the joint activities taking place? (Ha)	|_____|
D21	How do you share the outputs from the joint activities? *1=share harvest 2=share profits 99=other specify*	|_____|
D22	What is the basis on which output is shared? *1= based on contribution to production costs 2=on ad-hoc basis 3=land owner determines sharing 99=other specify*	|_____|

D23. In terms of maize have you been affected by drought in the last three seasons?

	Drought effects	2011/12	2012/13	2014/15
1	Affected by drought *1=yes 2= no*	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|
2	Area under crops affected (write-off)(ha)	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|
3	Potential maize output affected (Kgs)	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|
4	Cattle lost	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|

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PRODUCTIVE AND OTHER ASSET OWNERSHIP, ACCESS AND INVESTMENTS

D24. Provide the following information on hand tools.

	Type	Year settled	2014				2015				2016				
		No. owned	No. owned	No. bought	Value (USD)	Source of income[1]	No. owned	No. bought	Value (USD)	Source of income[1]	No. owned	No. bought	Value (USD)	Source of income[1]	Did you borrow any of these assets? 1=yes 2=no
1	Hoes	____	____		_____	____	____		_____	____	____		_____	____	____
2	Axes	____	____		_____	____	____		_____	____	____		_____	____	____
3	Mattocks	____	____		_____	____	____		_____	____	____		_____	____	____
4	Picks	____	____		_____	____	____		_____	____	____		_____	____	____
5	Spades	____	____		_____	____	____		_____	____	____		_____	____	____
6	Spade forks	____	____		_____	____	____		_____	____	____		_____	____	____
7	W/ barrows	____	____		_____	____	____		_____	____	____		_____	____	____
8	Watering cans	____	____		_____	____	____		_____	____	____		_____	____	____
9	K/ sprayers	____	____		_____	____	____		_____	____	____		_____	____	____
10	Machete	____	____		_____	____	____		_____	____	____		_____	____	____
11	Slasher	____	____		_____	____	____		_____	____	____		_____	____	____
12	Other *specify*)	____	____		_____	____	____		_____	____	____		_____	____	____
13		____	____		_____	____	____		_____	____	____		_____	____	____

1 *1=proceeds from agric sales 2=personal savings outside agric 3=loan from bank 4=remittances from diaspora 5=local remittances 6=loan from relatives and friends 7=credit from supplier 8=contract farming 9=self-made 99=other specify*

D25. Provide the following information on animal-drawn implements.

Type		Year settled	2011				2015				2016				
		No. owned	No. owned	No. bought	Value (USD)	Source of income[1]	No. owned	No. bought	Value (USD)	Source of income[1]	No. owned	No. bought	Value (USD)	Source of income[1]	Did you borrow any of these assets? 1=yes 2=no
1	Scotch-cart	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
2	Plough	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
3	Planter	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
4	Ripper	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
5	Ridger	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
6	Cultivator	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
7	Harrow	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
8	Other specify	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
9		_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

1 *1=proceeds from agric sales 2=personal savings outside agric 3=loan from bank 4=remittances from diaspora 5=local remittances 6=loan from relatives and friends 7=credit from supplier 8=contract farming 9=other specify*

D26. Provide the following information on machinery, power-driven implements and equipment.

	Asset list	Year settled	2014				2015				2016				
		No. owned	No. owned	No. bought	Value (USD)	Source of income[1]	No. owned	No. bought	Value (USD)	Source of income[1]	No. owned	No. bought	Value (USD)	Source of income[1]	Did you borrow any of these assets? 1=yes 2=no
1	Family car														
2	Trucks														
5	Generator														
6	Tractor														
7	Tractor trailer														

8	Plough														
9	Planter														
10	Ripper														
11	Ridger														
12	Cultivator														
13	Harrow														
14	Row markers														
15	Boom sprayers														
16	ULV sprayers														
17	Water bowser														
18	Water pump														
19	Grinding mill														
20	Dehuller														
21	Maize sheller														
22	Combine harvester														

[1] *1=proceeds from agric sales 2=personal savings outside agric 3=loan from bank 4=remittances from diaspora 5=local remittances 6=loan from relatives and friends 7=credit from supplier 8=contract farming 99=other specify*

D27. Provide information on the following fixed assets.

	Type	**Year settled**	**2014**				**2015**				**2016**			
		No. owned	**No. owned**	**No. built**	**Value (USD)**	**Source of income[7]**	**No. owned**	**No. built**	**Value (USD)**	**Source of income[1]**	**No. owned**	**No. built**	**Value (USD)**	**Source of income[1]**
1	Boreholes													
2	Deep wells													
3	Cattle handling facilities													
4	Dairy parlours													
5	Pig sties													

[7] *1=proceeds from agric sales 2=personal savings outside agric 3=loan from bank 4=remittances from diaspora 5=local remittances 6=loan from relatives and friends 7=credit from supplier 8=contract farming 99=other specify*

6	Poultry runs													
7	Dip tanks													
8	Granary													
9	Storage facilities													
10	Private Tobacco barns													
11	Communal Tobacco barns													
12	Green houses **(include area covered in Ha)**													
13	Grading shades													

AGRICULTURAL INPUTS

D28. How would you rate your access to the following inputs in the 2015/16 season?

	Type of inputs	Did you use it 1=Yes, 2=No	Common source[1]	If you bought, did you buy on credit *1=yes 2=no*	Distance from house to regular source (km) source 1	Time taken in hours to get to regular	Perception of cost[2]	Constraints to access[3]
Fertilizer	(NPK,Urea,DAP, SSP,Others)							
2	Herbicides							
3	Pesticides							
4	Animal Manure							
5	Retained seed							
6	Certified seed							
7	Post-harvest insecticides							
8	Livestock supplementary feed							
9	Livestock drugs							
10	Animal/mineral licks							

[1] ***Common source of inputs:*** *1=purchased from local agro-dealer; 2=purchased from CA agro-dealer; 3=purchased from other farmers; 4=received from government; 5=received from NGOs; 6=nearest urban area 7=received from relative/friends 8=own source 9=contractor 10=barter exchange 99=others (specify)…*

[2] ***Perception of cost:*** *1=Very affordable, 2=Affordable 3=Not affordable*

[3] ***Other constraints to access****: 1=Too far from household, 2=Unsuitable packaging (large) 3=No knowledge of how to use 4=No transport, 5= Not enough money 99=Other (specify)*

E. ACCESS TO IRRIGATION

No	Questions	Response
E1	Who makes the day-to-day decisions on this farm? *1=male owner 2=female owner 3=husband 4=wife 5=husband & wife 6=son 7=daughter 8=manager 99=other specify*	|____|
E2	What type of land are you currently using for crop production purposes? *1=land previously cleared and used by former owner 2=virgin (recently cleared) land 3=land left lying fallow (for10 years or more)*	|____|
E3	Predominant soil type in arable plots. *1=clay 2=clay-loam 3=sandy-loam 4=sandy soils*	|____|
E4	Do you have irrigation on this plot? *1=yes 2=no****(If no go to E12.1)***	|____|
E5	If yes, what type of irrigation infrastructure do you have? *1=drip 2=overhead 3=centre pivot 4=canal 5= hose pipes 99=other specify*	|____|
E6	Is the irrigation infrastructure operational? *1=yes 2=no****(If no go to E8)***	|____|
E7	If operational, what is the area under irrigation? (Ha)	|____|
E8	Did you inherit this infrastructure from former farmer? *1=yes 2=no****(If no go to E12)***	|____|
E9	If yes, have there been any disputes with other land beneficiaries about this infrastructure? *1=yes 2=no*	|____|
E10	If yes, what were the disputes about? 1=access to use 2=ownership 3=cost sharing 99=other(specify)	|____|

E11	How were the disputes about the irrigation infrastructure resolved? 1=self 2=traditional authority 3=local authority 4=government 5=courts 99=other(specify)	|____|

QN No. |_____|

E12. If you did not inherit, when did you invest in this irrigation infrastructure?

	Year	**Amount Spent (US$)**	**Source of income[1]**
1	|___|___|___|___|	|_____|	|_____|
2	|___|___|___|___|	|_____|	|_____|
3	|___|___|___|___|	|_____|	|_____|

1 *1=proceeds from agric sales 2=personal savings outside agric 3=loan from bank 4=remittances from diaspora 5=local remittances*

No	Question	Response
E12.1	Do you have access to irrigation elsewhere? *1=yes 2=no****(If no go to E13)***	|_____|
E12.2	If yes, where do you have access to irrigation? *1=riverine 2=vlei 3=dam 4=irrigation scheme 99=other specify*	|_____|
E12.3	What is the size of this irrigated area?	|_____|
E13	If you do not have access to irrigation infrastructure, do you have imminent plans to invest in irrigation? *1=yes 2=no* ***(If no proceed to F)***	|_____|
E14	If yes when do you plan to invest in irrigation infrastructure? **Date (MM/YY)**	|__|__|__|__|
E15	What type of irrigation infrastructure do you plan to invest in? *1=drip 2=overhead 3=centre pivot 4=canal 5= hose pipe 99=other specify*	|_____|
E16	Have you secured the financial resources for irrigation investment? *1=yes 2=no****(If no proceed to F)***	|_____|
E16.1	If yes, from where? *1=formal banks 2=relatives/friends 3=company/work place 4=NGO 5= loan sharks 99=other (specify)*	|_____|

E17. If yes, how much funding have you secured and the sources?

	Amount secured (US$)	**Date Secured (DD/MM/YY)**	**Source of funding[1]**
1	|_____|	|___|___|___|___|___|___|	|_____|
2	|_____|	|___|___|___|___|___|___|	|_____|
3	|_____|	|___|___|___|___|___|___|	|_____|

1 *1=proceeds from agric sales 2=personal savings outside agric 3=loan from bank 4=remittances from diaspora 5=local remittance*

F. AGRICULTURAL LABOUR

No	Question	Response
F1	Do you hire any paid labour for your agricultural activities? *1=yes 2=no**(If no go to F51)***	|____|

F2. If yes how many persons did you hire during the following periods?

	Type of labour	No. of persons hired					
		2014		2015		2016	
		No. of males	No. of females	No. of males	No. of females	No. of males	No. of females
1	Permanent	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|
2	Casual	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|

QN No. |_____|

F3	Where did you recruit your current permanent farm workers from?		
	Source	1=yes 2=no	If yes specify district/location
1	*Your Communal Area of origin*	|____|	
2	*Other Communal Areas*	|____|	
3	*Urban area*	|____|	**[Indicate suburb]**
4	*Local A1 farmers*	|____|	
5	*Former farm workers in same district*	|____|	
6	*Former farm workers in different district*	|____|	
7	*Others*	|____|	

F4	Where did you recruit your current casual farm workers from?		
	Source	1=yes 2=no	If yes specify district
1	*Your Communal Area of origin*	|____|	
2	*Other Communal Areas*	|____|	
3	*Urban area*	|____|	**[Indicate suburb]**
4	*Local A1 farmers*	|____|	
5	*Former farm workers in same district*	|____|	
6	*Former farm workers in different district*	|____|	
7	*Others*	|____|	

F5.	Are your permanent workers assigned to specific sections or enterprises on the farm? *1=yes 2=no **(If no go to F7)***	|_____|

F6. If yes, how is the permanent workforce divided amongst the enterprises or sections?

	Enterprise/Section	No. of workers	
		Male	Female
1	Crop production	|_____|	|_____|
2	Livestock production	|_____|	|_____|
3	Horticulture	|_____|	|_____|
4	Farm engineering	|_____|	|_____|
5	Irrigation	|_____|	|_____|
6	General hands	|_____|	|_____|
7	Machinery operator/drivers..	|_____|	|_____|
8	Other specify	|_____|	|_____|

F7	Do your permanent workers perform the same tasks on the farms every day? *1=yes 2=no*	|____|

F8. How many casual workers did you hire during these months?

	2014				2015							
	Sept	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	April	May	Jun	Jul	Aug
No. of persons	|____|	|____|	|____|	|____|	|____|	|____|	|____|	|____|	|____|	|____|	|____|	|____|

QN No. \|_____\| F9. For which farming activities was casual labour hired during the last two seasons?

		2013/14	**2014/15**
	Farming activity	**Acknowledgement *1=yes 2=no***	**Acknowledgement *1=yes 2=no***
1	Land clearing	|____|	|____|
2	Planting	|____|	|____|
3	Weeding	|____|	|____|
4	Harvesting	|____|	|____|
5	Pest and disease control	|____|	|____|
6	Marketing (selling of commodities)	|____|	|____|
7	Livestock herding	|____|	|____|
8	Farm repairs	|____|	|____|
9	Farm Security	|____|	|____|
10	Cattle dipping	|____|	|____|
11	Other1 (*specify*)	|____|	|____|
12	Other2 (*specify*)	|____|	|____|

No	Question	Response
F10.	Do you employ a farm manager? *1=yes 2=no*	|____|
F11.	If yes what agricultural qualifications does the farm manager hold? *1=no formal training 2=certificate 3=master farmer certificate 4=advanced master farmer certificate 5=diploma 6= degree 99=other specify*	|____|
F12	How do you **mainly** determine the wages of your **permanent** employees? *1=government gazetted wages 2=local farmers agreement 3=negotiated between employee and employer 99=other (specify……..)*	|____|

F12.1	How do you **mainly** determine the wages of your **casual** employees? *1=government gazetted wages 2=local farmers agreement 3=negotiated between employee and employer 99=other (specify……..)*	|____|
F13	What kind of contracts do you have with your **permanent** workers? *1= verbal 2= written*	|____|
F14	What kind of contracts do you have with your **casual** workers? *1= verbal 2= written*	|____|
F15	How many days do your permanent workers work per month?	|____| **days**
F16	How many off days do you give your permanent workers per month?	|____| **days**
F17	What time do your permanent workers start work?	|__|__|__|__|
F18	What time do your permanent workers finish work?	|__|__|__|__|
F19	How long is your permanent workers tea break?	|____| hrs
F20	How long is your permanent workers lunch break?	|____| hrs

QN No. |_____|

F21. How did you pay your workers during the following periods?

	Type of labour	Mode of payment[1]			
		2011	2013	2014	2015
1	Permanent	|____|	|____|	|____|	|____|
2	Casual	|____|	|____|	|____|	|____|

[1]***Mode of payment****1=cash only 2=kind only 3=cash and kind 4=land to grow crops 5=cash and land 99=other specify*

No	Question	Response
F22	How much are you paying each **permanent** workers in cash per month?	US$|_____|
F23	On average what is the daily payment for **casual** workers	US$|_____|
F24.1	How often do you pay your **casual** workers? *1=daily 2=weekly 3=fortnightly 4=monthly 99= other specify*	|____|
F24.2	Do you pay female and male workers the same? *1= Yes 2= No*	|____|
F24.3	If yes, what are possible reasons for the different payment? *1= different tasks for women and men 2= just bec one is a female and other male 2= women work shorter hours bec of other duties 4= Other (Specify)*	|_____|

F25. What was the monthly total monetary wage bill for all your permanent workers during the following periods (US$)?

	Months	2013	2014	2015

1	January to June	_____	_____	_____
2	July to December	_____	_____	_____

F26. Did you provide these foodstuffs to permanent workers monthly during the following periods?

	Item	**2014**		**2015**		**2016**	
		Provided ***1=yes 2=no***	**Quantity**	**Provided** ***1=yes 2=no***	**Quantity**	**Provided** ***1=yes 2=no***	**Quantity**
1	Maize (kg)	____	_____	____	_____	____	_____
2	Cooking Oil (l)	____	_____	____	_____	____	_____
3	Sugar beans (kg)	____	_____	____	_____	____	_____
4	Soap (bars)	____	_____	____	_____	____	_____
5	Beef (kg)	____	_____	____	_____	____	_____
6	Matemba (kg)	____	_____	____	_____	____	_____
7	Salt (kg)	____	_____	____	_____	____	_____
8	Sugar (kg)	____	_____	____	_____	____	_____
9	Tea (kg)	____	_____	____	_____	____	_____

F27. What other benefits did you provide to your permanent employees during the following periods?

	Benefit	**2014**	**2015**	**2016**
		Did you offer? ***1=yes 2=no***	**Did you offer?** ***1=yes 2=no***	**Did you offer?** ***1=yes 2=no***
1	Housing	____	____	____
2	Paraffin	____	____	____
3	Firewood	____	____	____
4	Health support	____	____	____
5	Land to grow crops	____	____	____
6	Land to graze animals	____	____	____
7	Annual leave	____	____	____
8	Protective clothing	____	____	____
9	Funeral support	____	____	____
10	Other specify	____	____	____

F28. If you provide protective clothing what exactly do you provide?

	Protective clothing	Permanent workers *1=yes 2=no*	Casual workers *1=yes 2=no*
1	Overalls	____	____
2	Gumboots	____	____
3	Gloves	____	____
4	Nose masks	____	____
5	Other specify	____	____

F29. Besides daily payments you pay to **casual** workers, are there any other benefits you provided during the following periods?

	Benefit	**2014**	**2015**	**2016**
		Did you offer? *1=yes 2=no*	**Did you offer? *1=yes 2=no***	**Did you offer? *1=yes 2=no***
1	Housing	|____|	|____|	|____|
2	Paraffin	|____|	|____|	|____|
3	Firewood	|____|	|____|	|____|
4	Health support	|____|	|____|	|____|
5	Land to grow crops	|____|	|____|	|____|
6	Land to graze animals	|____|	|____|	|____|
7	Food at work	|____|	|____|	|____|
8	Protective clothing	|____|	|____|	|____|
9	Funeral support	|____|	|____|	|____|
10	Monthly maize grain	|____|	|____|	|____|

No	Question	Response
F30	Do you provide housing for your **permanent** workers? *1=yes 2=no**(If no go to F34)***	|____|
F31	If yes, did you construct the houses for the permanent workers? *1=yes 2=no*	|____|
F32	If yes, what kind of housing are you providing? *1=pole and dagga 2=timber structure 3=brick and tin roof 4=brick and asbestos 5=brick and thatch 99=other specify*	|____|
F33	Where do you provide this housing for **permanent** workers? *1=my homestead 2=new houses built on my plot 3=old LSCF compound 99=other specify*	|____|
F34	If you do not provide accommodation, where do your **permanen**t workers stay? *1=farm compound where plot is located 2=farm compound on another farm 3=Nearby Communal Area 4=nearby town 5=A1 plot 99=other (specify)*	|____|
F35	Do you provide housing for your **casual** workers? *1=yes 2=no **(If no go to F38)***	|____|
F36	If yes, did you construct the houses for the **casual** workers? *1=yes 2=no*	|____|
F37	If yes, what kind of housing are you providing? *1=pole and dagga 2=timber structure 3=brick and tin roof 4=brick and asbestos 99=other specify*	|____|
F38	Where do you provide this housing for **casua**l workers? *1=my homestead 2=new houses built on my plot 3=old LSCF compound 99=other specify*	|____|
F39	If you do not provide accommodation, where do your casual workers stay? *1=farm compound where plot is located 2=farm compound on another farm 3=Nearby Communal Area 4=nearby town 5=A1 plot 99=other (specify)*	|____|
F40	Do you have an agreement to share the output from your harvest with your agricultural workers? *1=Yes 2=No **(If no go to F42)***	|____|

F41	If yes, what per centage of the harvest did you allocate to your workers in the 2013/14 season?	|____|
F42	Have you allocated your permanent workers some pieces of land to grow their own crops on your plot? *1=yes 2=no* ***(If no go to F45)***	|____|
F43	If yes, how many permanent employees did you allocate land?	|_____|
F44	How much land in total have you allocated to the permanent workers?	|_____|Ha
F45	Have you allocated your casual workers some pieces of land to grow their own crops on your plot? *1=yes 2=no* ***(If no go to F48.1)***	|____|
F46	If yes, how many casual employees did you allocate land?	|_____|
F46.1	How much land in total have you allocated to the casual workers?	|_____|Ha
F47	Do you have an agreement to share the harvest from the plots you allocated to them? *1 = Yes 2 = No*	|____|
F48.1	Do you offer your permanent workers free inputs to crop the pieces of land you allocated them? *1=yes 2=no****(If no go to F49)***	|____|

F48. 2. If yes what inputs and quantities did you offer the permanent worker in 2014/15 season?

	Input	Did you offer it? 1=yes 2=no	Number of workers offered	Total Quantity in Kgs
1	Maize seed	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|
2	Compound D fertiliser	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|
3	AN fertiliser	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|
4	Other specify	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|

QN No. |_____|

F49	Are you facing any shortages of farm wage labour? *1=yes 2=no* ***(If no go to F51)***	|____|

F50. If yes during which years did you face labour shortages and what was the most affected activity

	Years	Did you face shortage?[8]	Most affected Activitiy[9]	Main reason for shortage[10]
1	2015	|____|	|____|	|____|

[8] ***Labour shortages****1=yes 2=no*

[9] ***Activities****1=land clearing 2=weeding 3=harvesting 4=marketing/selling 5=livestock herding 6=planting 7=spraying/pest control 99=other specify*

[10] ***Reasons for shortage:*** *1=too many employers 2=few employees 3=low wages 4= alternative jobs available 99=other specify*

QN No. |_____|

2	2014	____	____	____
3	2013	____	____	____
4	2012	____	____	____
5	2011	____	____	____

No	Question	Response
F51	Besides the labour provided by permanent and casual workers, are there any other paid labour services that you are engaging (e.g. livestock diagnosis, tractor repairs, crop marketing)? *1=yes 2=no****(If no go to F54)***	_____
F52	If yes, who provides these services? *1=former farm workers 2=new farm workers 3=other farmers 4=private companies 5=private individuals/contractors 99=other specify*	_____

F53	If yes, what services are you engaging?	
	Service sourced	Acknowledgement 1=ye 2=no
1	*tractor repairs*	_____
2	*tobacco grading*	_____
3	*farm planning*	_____
4	*irrigation operation*	_____
5	*livestock diagnosis*	_____
6	*crop marketing*	_____
7	*other*	_____

F54	Are you hiring any labour groups/gangs for general tasks (weeding, harvesting, stumping etc.) *1=yes 2=no****(If no go to F56)***	_____

F55	If yes, who provides these services?			Response
	1	*former farm workers*	*1=yes 2=no*	_____
	2	*new farm workers*	*1=yes 2=no*	_____
	3	*other farmers*	*1=yes 2=no*	_____
	4	*Government prison workers*	*1=yes 2=no*	_____
	5	*Communal area people*	*1=yes 2=no*	_____
	6	*Urban area people*	*1=yes 2=no*	_____
	7	*other specify*	*1=yes 2=no*	_____
F56	Did you have any labour disputes with your workers in 2015? *1=yes 2=no* ***(If no go to F58)***			_____
F57	If yes, what was the cause of the dispute? *1=late wage payments 2=low wages 3=residency in farm compound 4=firewood/grass cutting 5=theft 6=other (specify_____)*			_____
F58	Do any of your family members/ relatives provide manual labour for the household agricultural production activities? *1=yes 2=no* ***(If no go to F61)***			_____

F59. If yes, how many persons were involved during the following periods (including yourself)?

	Gender	No. of persons involved		
		2014	2014	2015

1	Adult males (>16 years)	_____	_____	_____
2	Adult Females (> 16 years)	_____	_____	_____
3	Children	_____	_____	_____
4	Total	_____	_____	_____

F60. Which farm tasks were performed by family members and what per cent of the work is done by hired labour in the 2014/15 season?

	Tasks	Family members do the task? 1=yes 2=no	% of work done by hired labour
1	Land clearing	_____	_____
2	Planting	_____	_____
3	Weeding	_____	_____
4	Harvesting	_____	_____
5	Marketing of crop commodities	_____	_____
6	Pest and disease control	_____	_____
7	Fertiliser application	_____	_____
8	Other (*specify*)	_____	_____
		_____	_____

F61.	Do any of your family members hire out wage labour for farming activities to other households/farmers? *1=yes 2=no****(If no go to F63)***	__

F62. If yes, how many persons were involved during the following periods?

	Gender	No. of persons involved		
		2014	2015	2016
1	Adult males (>16 years)	_____	_____	_____
2	Adult Females (> 16 years)	_____	_____	_____
3	Children	_____	_____	_____

F63	Do you have any reciprocal labour arrangements with other farmers? *1=yes 2=no (****If no proceed to G)***	____

QN No. _____

F64. If yes, in which activities were you practising reciprocal labour arrangements during the last two seasons?

		2013/14		**2015/16**	
	Activity	**Yes/No *1=yes 2=no***	**How many households are involved?**	**Yes/No *1=yes 2=no***	**How many households are involved?**
1	Land clearing	____	____	____	____
2	Planting	____	____	____	____
3	Weeding	____	____	____	____
4	Harvesting	____	____	____	____
5	Marketing of crop commodities	____	____	____	____
6	Pest and disease control	____	____	____	____
7	Other1 (*specify*)	____	____	____	____

8	Other2 (*specify*)	|____|	|____|	|____|	|____|

Research Que 2 Transformation of social institutions, social other relations of production? G. LAND TENURE ISSUES

No	Question	Response
G1	How did you first access this piece of land? *1= occupation 2= formally allocated = 3=inheritance 4=traditional leader 5=family subdivision 6=bought it 99=other specify*	|____|
G2	When was your formally allocated this piece of land? (year)	|__|__|
G3	When did you start farming operations? (year)	|__|__|
G4	Do you have any documentation in your name for this piece of land? *1=yes 2=no* ***(If no go to G6)***	|____|

G 5	If yes what kind of documentation do you have? *1=99 year lease 2=offer letter 3=permit 99=other specify*	|____|
G6	How are you accessing land for farming and other activities *1= husband 2= inherited from husband 3= father/brother 4= alocated by village head 5 allocated by government 6= renting 7= friend/relative sub-letting 8= other (specify)*	_| |___
G7	Are you sharing the land with anyone? **IF NO MOVE TO G9** *1=yes 2=no*	|____|
G8.1	If yes, who are you sharing your land with? *1=relative/friend 2=squatters 3=former farm workers 4=former LSC farmer 99=other (specify)*	|___|
G9	How much land are you sharing out? (Ha)	|_____|
G10	What are they using the land for? *1=residency 2=crop production 3=livestock production 4=crop and livestock 99=other (specify)*	|____|
G11	Have you been involved in any conflict over your land? **IF NO MOVE TO G15***1=yes 2=no*	|____|
G12	If yes, with whom? *1=government 2=local authority 3=neighbour 4=war vets 5=former white farmer 6=family members 7=traditional authority 99=other (specify*	|____|
G13	What was the source of conflict? *1=boundary dispute 2=access to natural resources 3=access to infrastructure 4=inheritance* *5=ownership of plot/farm 6= people and animal trespassing 99=other (specify*	|____|
G14	Do you attribute these kinds of conflict to lack of tenure documents? *1=Yes 2 =No*	|____|

G15	Have you ever been threatened with eviction? *1=yes 2=no* ***(If no go to G22)***	|____|
G16	If yes, by whom? *1=government 2=local authority 3=neighbour 4=war vets 5=former white farmer 6= traditional authority 99=other (specify*	|____|
G17	When were you threatened with eviction from this farm? Year	|__|__|
G18	Have you ever been evicted from this farm? *1=yes 2=no* ***(If no go to G22)***	|____|
G19	If yes, by whom? *1=government 2=local authority 3=neighbour 4=war vets 5=former white farmer 6= traditional authority 99=other (specify*	|____|
G20	If yes, which year were you evicted?	|__|__|
G21	If yes, from which farm were you evicted? Farm Name | | District| |	

ACCESS TO CREDIT

No	Question	Response
G22	Did you access credit for agricultural production between 2014 and 2016? *1=yes 2=no* ***(If no go to G24)***	|____|

G23. If yes please complete the following table for these periods for the main credit received?

		2014	2015	2016
1	If yes, what activity?[11]	|_____||_____|	|_____||_____|	|_____||_____|
2	Source of funding[1]	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|
3	Amount (US$)	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|
4	Repayment period in months	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|
5	Interest rate per annum (%)	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|
6	Are you servicing loan[2]	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|

No	Question	Response
G24	Have you ever faced any challenges **as a woman in relation to men** in accessing agricultural credit? *1=yes 2=no* ***(If no go to G26)***	|_____|

[11] ***Source:****1= government scheme 2=private company 3=commercial bank 4=relatives and friends 5=cooperatives 6=savings clubs 7 microfinance institutions 8=chimbadzo 99= other* [2]***Loan service*** *1=yes 2=no*

G25	If yes, what were the challenges? *1=no collateral security 2=not aware of credit facilities 3=not able to write business plans/proposals 4=high interest rates 5=short repayment periods 6=failure to meet other bank requirements (excluding collateral) 99=other specify*	|_____|
G26	Have financial institutions (banks) requested collateral security for you to borrow money? *1=yes 2=no 3=never tried to borrow* ***(If no go to G30)***	|_____|
G27	If yes, what have you used as collateral security to borrow money? *1=title deeds for urban property 2=99 year lease 3= moto vehicle 4=cattle 99=other specify*	*r* |_____|
G28	Have you faced any **as a woman in relation to men** challenges in servicing your loans? *1=yes 2=no*	|_____|
G29	If yes, what challenges are you facing? *1=crop/livestock failure 2=poor commodity prices 3=cash flow timing 4=social problems 99=other specify*	|_____|

ACCESS TO AGRICULTURAL MARKETS

G30. Which crop commodities were marketed during the following seasons?

	Crop	**2010/11**	**2012/13**	**2014/15**

		Quantity sold in Kgs	Total value realised (US$)	Main Marketing channel[12]	Reason for Choosing Marketing Channel[2]	Quantity Sold in Kgs	Total value realised (USD)	Main Marketing channel[1]	Reason for Choosing Marketing Channel[13]	Quantity sold in Kgs	Total value realised (USD)	Main Marketing channel[1]	Reason for Choosing Marketing Channel[2]
1	Maize	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|_____|	|___|	|___|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|
2	Wheat	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|_____|	|___|	|___|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|
3	Cotton	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|_____|	|___|	|___|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|
4	Tobacco	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|_____|	|___|	|___|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|
5	Groundnuts **(shelled)**	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|_____|	|___|	|___|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|
6	Millet	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|_____|	|___|	|___|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|
7	Sorghum	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|_____|	|___|	|___|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|
8	Rapoko	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|_____|	|___|	|___|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|
9	Sunflower	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|_____|	|___|	|___|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|
10	Soyabeans	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|_____|	|___|	|___|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|
11	Sugarbeans	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|_____|	|___|	|___|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|
12	Sweet potatoes	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|_____|	|___|	|___|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|
13	Sugar cane	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|_____|	|___|	|___|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|
14	Citrus	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|_____|	|___|	|___|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|

[12] ***Marketing channel*** *1=local/village market 2=on farm to middlemen 3= nearest urban area markets 4=on farm to consumers 5=road side sales 6=state marketing board 7=on farm to contractors 8=auction floor 99=other specify*

[13] ***Reason*** *1=statutory requirement 2=buyer provides inputs 3=offer higher prices 4=proximity to market 5=accessibility to market 6=no alternative 7=contract agreement 99=other (specify)*

15	Other *(specify)*	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|_____|	|___|	|___|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|
16		|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|_____|	|___|	|___|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|

G31. What amounts of the following horticultural crops were marketed during the following years?

	Crop	**2013**				**2014**				**2015**			
		Quantity sold in Kgs	Total value realised US$	Main Marketing channel[14][15]	Reason for Choosing Marketing Channel[16]	Quantity Sold in Kgs	Total value realised US$	Marketin g Channel[1]	Reason for Choosing Marketing Channel[2]	Quantity sold in Kgs	Total value realised US$	Marketing channel[1]	Reason for Choosing Marketing Channel[2]
1	Baby corn												
2	Pumpkins												
3	Watermelons												
4	Okra												
5	Tomatoes												
6	Rape												
7	Onions												
8	Peas												
9	Green beans												
10	Gem squash												

[14] ***Marketing channel****1=local/village market 2=on farm to middlemen 3= nearest urban area markets 4=on farm to consumers 5=road side sales 6=state marketing board*

[15] *=on farm to contractors 8=auction floor 99=other specify*

[16] ***Reason****1=statutory requirement 2=buyer provides inputs 3=offer higher prices 4=proximity to market 5=accessibility to market 6=no alternative 7= contract agreement 99=other (specify)*

11	Honey dew												
12	Cut flowers												
13	potatoes												
14	Paprika												
15	butternut												
16	Other (spfy)												

No	Questions	Responses
G32	What is the distance to the nearest tarmac/tarred road?	|_____|km
G33	What is the distance to the nearest town/urban area?	|_____|km

G34. What costs(**total sum for all trips**) did you incur to sell your field crops to your main marketing channel in 2014/15 season?

	Crop	Where did you sell?[17]	Quantity sold (kg)	Distance to the market (km)	What did you use to transport produce?[18]	How much did you pay for transport? (US$)	How long does it take to get to the market? (Hours)	How much time do you spend selling produce at the market? (Hours)	Where do you get information about prices of produce?[19]	How much did you spend to get this information? US$	Did you incur any storage costs at the market? *1=yes 2=no*	If yes, how much did you incur? (US$)	Up keep costs incurred while at market(food, accommodation etc) US$
1	Maize	|___|	|_____|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|_____|
2	Wheat	|___|	|_____|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|_____|
3	Millet	|___|	|_____|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|_____|
4	Rapoko	|___|	|_____|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|_____|

[17] **Market***1=local/village market 2=on farm to middlemen 3= nearest urban area markets 4=on farm to consumers 5=road side sales 6=state marketing board 7=on farm to contractors 8=auction floor 99=other specify*

[18] **Transport** *1=own vehicle/tractor 2=own scotch cart 3=hired vehicle/tractor 4=hired scotch cart 5=public transport (bus/kombi) 99=other specify*

[19] **Price information** *1=neighbours 2=extension officers 3=relatives and friends in towns 4=newspaper 5=radio 6=market 7=traders 99=other specify*

5	Sorghum	|___|	|_____|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|_____|
6	Groundnuts	|___|	|_____|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|_____|
7	Sunflower	|___|	|_____|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|_____|
8	Soyabeans	|___|	|_____|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|_____|
9	Tobacco	|___|	|_____|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|_____|
10	Cotton	|___|	|_____|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|_____|
11	Sweet potatoes	|___|	|_____|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|_____|
12	Sugar beans	|___|	|_____|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|_____|
13	Round nuts	|___|	|_____|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|_____|
14	Cowpeas	|___|	|_____|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|_____|
15		|___|	|_____|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|_____|
16		|___|	|_____|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|_____|

G35. What costs did you incur (**total sum for all trips**) for all the trips to sell your horticultural crops to your main marketing channel in 2014/15 season?

	Crop	Where did you sell?[20]	Quantity sold (kgs)	Distance to the market (km)	What did you use to transport produce?[21]	How much did you pay for transport? (US$)	How long does it take to get to the market? (Hours)	How much time do you spend selling produce at the market? (Hours)	Where do you get information about prices of produce?[22]	How much did you spend to get this information? US$	Did you incur any storage costs at the market? *1=yes 2=no*	If yes, how much did you incur? (US$)	Up keep costs incurred while at market(food, accommodation etc) US$
1	Baby corn	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|_____|
2	Pumpkins	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|_____|

[20] **Market** *1=local/village market 2=on farm to middlemen 3= nearest urban area markets 4=on farm to consumers 5=road side sales 6=state marketing board 7=on farm to contractors 8=auction floor 99=other specify*

[21] **Transport** *1=own vehicle/tractor 2=own scotch cart 3=hired vehicle/tractor 4=hired scotch cart 5=public transport (bus/kombi) 99=other specify*

[22] **Price information** *1=neighbours 2=extension officers 3=relatives and friends in towns 4=newspaper 5=radio 6=market 7=traders 99=other specify*

3	Watermelons	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|_____|
4	Okra	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|_____|
5	Tomatoes	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|_____|
6	Rape	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|_____|
7	Onions	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|_____|
8	Peas	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|_____|
9	Green beans	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|_____|
10	Gem squash	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|_____|
11	Cut flowers	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|_____|
12	potatoes	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|_____|
13	Paprika	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|_____|
14	Cabbage	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|_____|
15	Rugare	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|_____|
16	Butternut	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|_____|
17	Other 1	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|_____|
18	Other 2	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|_____|
19	Other 3	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|_____|

G36	Did you face any constraints **as a woman** in relation to men in marketing your crops in the last three seasons? *1=yes 2=no*	|____|

G37. If yes please specify the major marketing constraints faced.

	Crops	Constraints		
		2012/13	**2013/14**	**2014/15**
1		|____|	|____|	|____|

2		|____| |____| |____|
3		|____| |____| |____|

Constraints:1=lack of transport 2= poor prices 3=few buyers 4=storage/holding facilities5=high handling charges 6=bureaucracy (clearing stock with police etc. 7= poor information on prices 8=theft 9 = lack of transport 10= inability to negotiate prices 99=other specify

G38. In 2015, how did you market most of your livestock produce and what costs **(total sum for all trips)** did you incur to market the product?

	Animal	Where did you sell?[23]	Quantity sold	Distance to the market (km)	What did you use to transport produce?[24]	How much did you pay for transport? (US$)	How long does it take to get to the market? (Hours)	How much time do you spend selling produce at the market? (Hours)	Where do you get information about prices of produce?[25]	How much did you spend to get this information? US$	Did you incur any storage costs at the market? *1=yes 2=no*	If yes, how much did you incur? (US$)	Up keep costs incurred while at market(food, accommodation etc) US$
1	Cattle	|____|	|_____|	|_____|	|____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|____|	|_____|	|____|	|_____|	|_____|
2	Goats	|____|	|_____|	|_____|	|____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|____|	|_____|	|____|	|_____|	|_____|
3	Pigs	|____|	|_____|	|_____|	|____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|____|	|_____|	|____|	|_____|	|_____|
4	Layers	|____|	|_____|	|_____|	|____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|____|	|_____|	|____|	|_____|	|_____|
5	Broilers	|____|	|_____|	|_____|	|____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|____|	|_____|	|____|	|_____|	|_____|
6	Free range chicken	|____|	|_____|	|_____|	|____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|____|	|_____|	|____|	|_____|	|_____|
7	Rabbits	|____|	|_____|	|_____|	|____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|____|	|_____|	|____|	|_____|	|_____|
8	Eggs **(in dozens)**	|____|	|_____|	|_____|	|____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|____|	|_____|	|____|	|_____|	|_____|

[23.] **Market***1=local/village market 2=on farm to middlemen 3= nearest urban area markets 4=on farm to consumers 5=road side sales 6=state marketing board 7=on farm to contractors 8=auction 99=other specify*

[24.] **Transport** *1=own vehicle/tractor 2=own scotch cart 3=hired vehicle/tractor 4=hired scotch cart 5=public transport (bus/kombi) 99=other specify*

[25.] **Price information** *1=neighbours 2=extension officers 3=relatives and friends in towns 4=newspaper 5=radio 6=market 7=traders 99=other specify*

9	Milk **(in litres)**	|___|	|_____|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|_____|
10	Manure **(in kgs)**	|___|	|_____|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|_____|
11	Other specify	|___|	|_____|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|_____|
12		|___|	|_____|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|_____|
13		|___|	|_____|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|_____|

G39. Have you faced any constraints as a **woman in relation to men** in marketing your livestock in the last three years? 1= Yes 2= No |____| G40. If yes please specify

	Livestock type	Constraints[1]		
		2013	2014	2015
1		|____|	|____|	|____|
2		|____|	|____|	|____|
3		|____|	|____|	|____|
4		|____|	|____|	|____|

[1]**Constraints:** 1=lack of transport 2= poor prices 3=few buyers 4=storage/holding facilities 5=high handling charges (e.g. commission) 6=bureaucracy (clearing stock with police etc) 7= poor information on prices 8=theft 9= inability to negotiate 99=other

ACCESS TO AGRICULTURAL INFORMATION

G41. Please indicate your access, source and use of the following market information.

	Type of information	Do you receive information 1=Yes 2=No	Source of information[1]	How does this information affect decisions?[26]
1	Commodity prices in different markets	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|
2	What commodities are on demand	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|
3	When commodities are demanded	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|
4	Supply in different markets	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|
5	Availability of services e.g transport	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|

[1]***Source of information****: 1=Other Farmers 2= Family and friends 3= Radio/TV 4= Farmer organisation/cooperative 5= Other non-farmer associations 6= Market place posters/posted bulletin 7= Agricultural traders 8=SMS messages 9=Internet 10=Newspaper 11=Extension officer 99=Other (Specify)*

No	Question	Response

[26] ***How information affects decisions:*** *1= Affect purchasing decisions 2=Affect sales decisions 3= Affect stocking decisions 4=Affect contracting decisions 5=Affect investment decisions 99= Other (specify)*

G42	How do you rate your access to agricultural commodity market information in the 2014/15 season? *0= did not receive 1= poor 2 =fair 3=good*	
G43	Do you face any constraints as a women in relation to men in accessing market information? *1= Yes*[27] *2= No*	

H. FARMER ORGANISATIONS AND OTHER NETWORKS

Social Groups and Networks

No	Question	Response
H1	Do you have farmer groups in this area *1= Yes 2=No* ***(If no go to H12)***	|____|
H2	Are you a member of a farmer group? *1=Yes, 2=No* ***(If no go to H12)***	|____|
H3	What is the name of your farmer organisation?	|____|
H4	How many members (by gender) comprise your farmer's organisation? Males	|____|
	Females	|____|
H5	What is the coverage of your farmer organisation? *1=farm level 2=village level 3=ward level 4=district 5=Province 6=National 99=other specify*	|____|
H6	Which year was the farmer organisation formed?	|___|___|
H7	Which year did you become a member of the farmer group(s)	|___|___|
H8	Who founded the farmer organisation? *1=political party 2=extension officer 3=NGO 4=RDC 5=DA 6=local political leader? 7=local farmers 99=other (specify*)	|____|

H9. What role does the farmer organisation serve?

	Service provided	1=yes 2=no
1	Asset sharing	|____|
2	Credit sourcing	|____|
3	Inputs sourcing	|____|
4	Group marketing	|____|
5	Defend land rights of members	|____|
6	Provide social support (assist in burial, sickness etc)	|____|
7	Other 1(specify)	|____|
8	Other 2(specify)	|____|

No	Questions	Response

[27] 1= lack of social networks 2= no access to radio, television 3= no access to newspapers 4= no sell phone 99= Other (specify)

H10	Is your farmer group affiliated to a national farmer association? *1=yes 2=no****(If no go to H13)***	|____|
H11	If yes, which farmer association? *1=ZFU 2=ZCFU 3=CFU =4ZNFU 5=other specify*	|____|
H12	Are you a member of any national farmer association? *1=ZFU 2=ZCFU 3=CFU =4ZNFU 99=other specify*	|____|

Formal Public Agricultural Extension Services

No	Questions	Response
H13	Do you have access to formal public agricultural extension services? *1=yes 2=no* ***(If no go to H15)***	|____|

H14. If yes, what formal public agricultural extension system did you access in 2015?

	Source of Advice	Did you access it? *1=yes 2=no*	Do you pay any charges? *1=yes 2=no*	Predominant Extension Approach[1]	Frequency of contacts[2]	Rating of service[3]
1	Agritex	|____|	|____|	|____|	|____|	|____|
2	ARDA	|____|	|____|	|____|	|____|	|____|
3	Dept of Veterinary Services	|____|	|____|	|____|	|____|	|____|
4	Dept Livestock & Development	|____|	|____|	|____|	|____|	|____|
5	Dept Irrigation & Tech Services	|____|	|____|	|____|	|____|	|____|
6	Dept Natural Resources	|____|	|____|	|____|	|____|	|____|
7	Forestry Commission	|____|	|____|	|____|	|____|	|____|
8	Other *(specify)*	|____|	|____|	|____|	|____|	|____|
9		|____|	|____|	|____|	|____|	|____|

[1]***Approach****1=group approach 2=individual farmer visits 3=mass media*
[2]***Frequency*** *1=not at all 2=rarely 3=sometimes 4=always*
[3]***Rating*** *1=excellent 2=good 3=average 4=poor 5=very poor*

Private, NGO and Informal Agricultural Extension Networks

No	Question	Response
H15	Do you have access to private, NGO and informal agricultural extension networks? *1=yes 2=no*	|____|

H17. Do you own a bank account? 1= Yes 2= No |____|
H18. Are you a member of any Savings club? 1= *Yes 2= No* ***(If no proceed to I)*** **|____|**
H19. If yes, indicate

	Service provided	1=yes 2=no
1	Asset sharing	|____|
2	Credit sourcing	|____|

3	Inputs sourcing	|____|
4	Group marketing	|____|
5	Defend land rights of members	|____|
6	Provide social support (assist in burial, sickness etc)	|____|

H20.If yes, indicate numbers of women and men Male|___|Female|____|

H21. How much do you save monthly? *1= $1-10 2= 11-20 3= 21-40 4= $50 and above* |_____|

H22. On your last amount drawn from the pool what did you spent on[1]? |_____|

[1]1= to buy farming inputs 2= buy household utensils 3= buy household food items 4= pay school fees 4= pay hospital fees 99 Other (specify)

Research Question 3: Household Protection from socio-economic vulnerabilities

a) Access to a Guaranteed Household Source of Income

I. INCOMES I1. How much income did you receive from farming activities during last two seasons and how did you use it?

	Income/ use	2014(US$)	2015 (US$)
1	**Estimated gross income from farming**	|_____|	|_____|
	Uses/Expenditure	|_____|	|_____|
2	Bought agric inputs	|_____|	|_____|
3	Bought farm machinery	|_____|	|_____|
4	Bought cattle	|_____|	|_____|
5	Constructed farm infrastructure(include house repairs)	|_____|	|_____|
6	Savings at bank	|_____|	|_____|
7	Household consumption	|_____|	|_____|
8	Education expenditure	|_____|	|_____|
9	Health expenditure	|_____|	|_____|
10	Bought household assets	|_____|	|_____|
11	Bought clothing	|_____|	|_____|
12	Bought vehicles	|_____|	|_____|
13	Levies (RDC, dipping fees etc.)	|_____|	|_____|
14	Grind mill and other agro processing expenditures	|_____|	|_____|

15	Funerals	|_____|	|_____|
15	Social/cultural functions	|_____|	|_____|
16	Other specify	|_____|	|_____|

I2. Besides your income from farming, what are your other sources of income for the household?

	Source	Is source? *1= yes 2=no*	Who provides/gets?[1]	How many times did you receive this income in 2015?	Total income received in 2015 (US$)
1	Remittances from Diaspora	|____|	|____|	|____|	|_____|
2	Local remittances	|____|	|____|	|____|	|_____|
3	Pension	|____|	|____|	|____|	|_____|
4	Formal Employment	|____|	|____|	|____|	|_____|
5	Government grants	|____|	|____|	|____|	|_____|
6	NGO grants	|____|	|____|	|____|	|_____|

I3. Livestock and products sales, losses and consumption in the last three years

	Type of livestock	**2013**						**2014**						**2015**					
		No. sold	Income US$	channel used[28]	Nature of sales[29]	No. consumed	No. of deaths	No. sold	Income US$	channel used[1]	Nature of sales[2]	No. consumed	No. of deaths	No. sold	Income US$	channel used[1]	Nature of sales[2]	No. consumed	No. of deaths
1	Cattle																		
2	Cow milk																		
3	Eggs																		
4	Goats																		
5	Pigs																		
6	Free range chicken																		
7	Broilers																		
8	Layers																		

I4. Does your income from farming contributing the most to meet your household costs for such as education, health, food, shelter, and transport among others? 1= Yes 2= No |_____|

[28] **Marketing channel:** *1=CSC 2=middlemen 3=local butcheries/retail shops 4=neighboring farmers 5=export 6=nearest town 7=auction 99=other specify*

[29] **Nature of livestock sales** *1=on-hoof or live weight sales 2=sales after slaughter*

No	Question	Response
I5.	Did you engage in barter trade with any of your agricultural outputs over the last three seasons? *1=yes 2=no* ***(If no go to I7)***	|_____|

I6. If yes, when, which crops and quantities were involved?

	Crop specify	**2010/11**		**2011/12**		**2012/13**	
		Total Quantity of output bartered in Kgs	Main product exchanged for?[1]	Quantity of output in Kgs	Main product exchanged for?[1]	Quantity of output in Kgs	Main product exchanged for?[1]
1		|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|___|
2		|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|___|
3		|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|___|
4		|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|___|
5		|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|___|	|_____|	|___|

1 1=fertiliser 2= maize seed 3=other crop seeds 4= crop inputs 5=labour 6 =other crop produce 7= clothes 8=groceries 9=livestock 10=equipment 11=utensils 12 livestock inputs 99=other specify

HOUSEHOLD FOOD SECURITY

I7. Which crop commodities were retained during the following seasons and for what uses?

	Crop	2013/14							2014/15						
		Total Amount retained in Kgs	Quantities used for (Kgs)						Total Amount retained in Kgs	Quantities used for (Kgs)					
			Consumed in 2013	Livestock feeds?	Food reserve for 2014	Preserved as seed for 2014/15?	Rations for labour & wage payments	Gifts for relatives & friends		Consumed in 2014	Livestock feeds?	Food reserve for 2015	Preserved as seed for 2015/16?	Rations for labour & wage payments?	Gifts for relatives & friends
1	Maize	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|
2	Wheat	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|
3	Groundnuts(**shelled**)	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|
4	Millet	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|
5	Sorghum	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|
6	Rapoko	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|
7	Sunflower	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|
8	Soyabeans	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|

9	Sugarbeans	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|
10	Sweet Potatoes	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|
11	Cowpeas /nyemba	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|
12	Roundnuts	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|

I8. How many meals does your household consume per day? |____|

I9. Please indicate whether your household faced food shortages, and the number of meals taken per day in the following years.

	Year	2012	2013	2014	2015
1	Faced food shortages? 1=yes 2=no	|____|	|____|	|____|	|____|
2	No. of meals per day	|____|	|____|	|____|	|____|

I10. If you faced any food shortage in the past 12 months, what coping strategies did you use?

	Coping mechanism	Did it happen 1=Yes 2=No	If you used strategy, how often did you use it? [1]
1	Borrowed money to buy food or got food on credit	|____|	|____|
2	Reduced the number of meals	|____|	|____|
3	Mother ate less	|____|	|____|
4	Father ate less	|____|	|____|
5	Children ate less	|____|	|____|
6	Substituted commonly bought foods with cheaper kind	|____|	|____|
7	Modified cooking method	|____|	|____|
8	Mortgaged/sold assets	|____|	|____|
9	Borrowed from neighbours	|____|	|____|
10	Went for food for work programs	|____|	|____|
11	Government /NGO programs	|____|	|____|
12	Begging	|____|	|____|

[1] ***How often:*** *1=Very few times (seldom) 2=occasionally, 3=Regularly 4=All the time*

I11. Indicate your sources of food and then rank the three major ones in the past year (2015). 1=major source

	Food source	Is it the major source? Yes=1 No=2	Rank (First 3)
1	Own food production	|____|	|____|
2	Purchases	|____|	|____|
3	Food aid (free food handouts)	|____|	|____|
4	Food for work	|____|	|____|
5	Food rations from employer	|____|	|____|
6	Grain loan schemes	|____|	|____|
7	Other (specify)	|____|	|____|

I12. Did you receive food aid during the last three years? *1= Yes 2= No* |_____|
(If no go to I13)
I12.1 If yes indicate the following

	Year	Received *1=yes 2=no*	What did you receive?	Frequency (times per year)	From whom[1]
1	2015	|____|	|_____|	|____|	|____|
2	2014	|____|	|_____|	|____|	|____|
3	2013	|____|	|_____|	|____|	|____|

[1] *1=government 2=NGO 3=church 4=donors 5=community 6=relatives and friends 99=other specify*

I13. During the past four seasons did you produce adequate maize for your household?

	Season	Met al.l household needs *1=yes, 2=no*	Sold *1=yes, 2=no*	How many months did it last with harvest?
1	2014/15	|____|	|____|	|____|
2	2013/14	|____|	|____|	|____|
3	2012/13	|____|	|____|	|____|
4	2011/12	|____|	|____|	|____|

I14. What kinds of foods did your household consume over the last month and have there been changes since 2010?

Food category		Item	How has your consumption of food item changed since 2009?		Consumption and expenditure in previous month		
			1=increase 2=decrease 0=no change		How many days did you consume this food item in the last 7 days?	Source of food[30]	How much did you spend on this food item? (US$) (*Sum of last 30 days)*
Cereals (1)	1	Maize meal	|____|		|____|	|____|	|_____|
	2	Sorghum meal	|____|		|____|	|____|	|_____|

[30] ***Source of food*** *1=own production 2=purchase from local retail shop (specify area) 3=purchase from urban areas (specify area) 4=local agro-processor 5=gift/handout 6= bought from other farmers 99=other (specify)*

	3	Bread	____|		____|	____|	_____|
	4	Flour	____|		____|	____|	_____|
	5	Rice	____|		____|	____|	_____|
Tubers(2)	6	Sweet potatoes	____|		____|	____|	_____|
	7	Irish potatoes	____|		____|	____|	_____|
	8	Cassava	____|		____|	____|	_____|
Pulses (3)	9	Beans	____|		____|	____|	_____|
	10	G.nuts	____|		____|	____|	_____|
	11	Peas	____|		____|	____|	_____|
	12	Round nuts (nyimo)	____|		____|	____|	_____|
Veggies(4)	13	Leafy vegetables	____|		____|	____|	_____|
Fruits(5)	14	Fruits	____|		____|	____|	_____|
Protein (6)	15	Fish	____|		____|	____|	_____|
	16	Eggs	____|		____|	____|	_____|
	17	Pork	____|		____|	____|	_____|
	18	Beef	____|		____|	____|	_____|
	20	Poultry	____|		____|	____|	_____|
	21	Goats	____|		____|	____|	_____|
Milk(7)	22	Milk	____|		____|	____|	_____|
Sugar(8)	23	Sugar	____|		____|	____|	_____|
Oils(9)	24	Cooking oil	____|		____|	____|	_____|
Condiments(10)	25	Salt	____|		____|	____|	_____|

I14. Housing infrastructure composition

	Type	**Year settled**	**2014**				**2015**				**2016**			
		No. owned	No. owned	New buildings	Value (USD)	Source of income[1]	No. owned	New buildings	Value (USD)	Source of income[1]	No. owned	New buildings	Value (USD)	Source of income[1]
1	Dagga/ thatch													

2	Wooden/cabin													
3	Brick/ thatch													
4	Brick/iron/zinc													
5	Brick/asbestos													
6	Brick/ tile													
7	Blair toilets													
8														

1 *1=proceeds from agric sales 2=personal savings outside agric 3=loan from bank 4=remittances from diaspora 5=local remittances 6=loan from relatives and friends 7=credit from supplier 8=contract farming 9=other specify*

Research Question 4: Transformation of reproduction Strategies

J. SOCIAL REPRODUCTION STRATEGIES

J1.	Are you involved in non-farm rural income generating activities? *1=yes 2=no**(If no go to J3)***	|____|

J2. If yes, what non-farm rural income generating activities are you involved in?

	Type of activity	**Involved?** *1=yes 2=no*	**Seasonality[1]**	**Place of activity[2]**	**No. involved?**			**Income realised in 2015 (US$)**
					Males	**Females**	**Total**	
1	Brick making	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|
2	Basketry	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|
3	Building	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|
4	Tailoring	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|
5	Thatching grass	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|
6	Wood carving	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|
7	Stone carving	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|
8	Wildlife hunting	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|
9	Firewood	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|
10	Collecting river/pit sand	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|
11	Gold panning	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|
12	Pottery	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|
13	Clothes vending	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|
14	Beer brewing	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|
15	Carpentry	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|

16	Repair work	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|
17	Transport provision	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|
18	Small tuck-shop	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|
19	Retail shop	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|
20	Motor mechanics	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|
21	Other1 *(specify)*	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|
22	Other2 *(specify)*	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|

[1] *1=all year round 2=rainy season 3=dry season*

[2] *1=FTLRP area 2=Communal Area 3=urban area 4=mining area 5=other (specify)*

No	Question	Response
J3	Do you hire out draught animals to other farmers? *1=yes 2=no**(If no go to J5)***	|____|
J3	If yes, how much land did you till for other farmers in the 2013/14 season?	|_____|Ha
J4	How much income did you realise from tillage services in the 2013/14 season?	USD |_____|
J5	Did you hire out your tractor to other farmers in the 2013/14 season? *1=yes 2=no**(If no go to J7)***	|____|
J6	If yes, how much land did you till for other farmers the 2013/14 season?	|_____|Ha
J6	How much income did you realise from tillage services in the 2013/14 season?	USD |_____|

J7. Provide the following information on other assets

	Type	Year settled	2014					2015					2016				
		No. owned	No. owned	No. bought	Value (USD)	Source of income[1]	No. borrowed	No. owned	No. bought	Value (USD)	Source of income[1]	No. borrowed	No. owned	No. bought	Value (USD)	Source of income[1]	No. borrowed
1	TV																
2	DVD player																
3	Decoder																
4	Satellite dish																
5	Radio																
6	Cellphone																
7	Solar panel																
8	Gas stove																
9	Electric stove																
10	Paraffin stove																
11	Beds																
12	Fridge																
13	Other (*specify*)																

1 *1=proceeds from agric sales 2=personal savings outside agric 3=loan from bank 4=remittances from diaspora 5=local remittances 6=loan from relatives and friends 7=credit from supplier 8=contract farming 99=other specify*

J8. Please indicate what social and other amenities / services within specified distances?

	Social and economic services	Are you getting it? *1=yes 2=no*		Social and economic services	Are you getting it? *1=yes 2=no*
1	Primary School less than 3km	|___|	11	Postal Service within 5 km	|___|
2	Creche/childcare centre within 3 km	|___|	12	Protected water source 500m	|___|
3	Secondary School within 5 km	|___|	13	Blair Toilet 500m	|___|
4	Health Centre within 5 km	|___|	14	Laundry facilities within 500m	|___|
5	Store within 5 km	|___|	15	Cattle dipping	|___|
6	Bus stop within 5 km	|___|	16	Grinding mills	|___|
7	Telecom services within 5 km	|___|	17	Equipment repairs	|___|
8	Bar within 5 km	|___|	18	Information Centre within 5km	|___|
9	Children Play Centre within 2 km	|___|	19	Other(specify)	|___|
10	Recreational Centre within 5 km	|___|	20	Other(specify)	|___|

Sharing of Household Tasks

J9. Does your spouse (for women) take part in some of the household work? 1= Yes 2= No |____|

J9.1 If yes, indicate the household tasks he participate in

Household Task	Collecting water	Collecting firewood	Cooking	Washing dishes	Washing clothes	Taking care sick child	Taking children to school	Bathing children	Other
Response									

1= Yes 2= No

J10. Do you feel there is a balanced share of household work within the household between you and your spouse? |_____|

1= Yes 2= No

J11. Does the household employ a maid? |_____|

1= Yes 2= No

Time-Use and Leisure

J12. How much time in hours do you spend on the farm on an average day? |_____|

*1= 0-3 hrs 2= 4-6 hrs 3= 7-9 hrs 4= 10-12 hrs 5= above 12 hrs*J13. On an average day how much time do you spent on household chores? |_____|

*1= 0-3 hrs 2= 4-6 hrs 3= 7-9 hrs 4= 10-12 hrs 5= above 12 hrs*J14. Do you feel time short to do other things apart from farm and household activities such as taking personal care, rest and leisure? |_____|

1= Yes 2= No

Access to Sources Safe Drinking Water J15. Is source of water is more than 500m away indicate? *1= Yes 2= No (If no go to J16)* |_____|

J15.1 If yes provide the following information

Distance to source	Amount used daily	Mode of transporting water1	Frequency to water source per day	Time taken to water source	Seasonality of water source2
|____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|

1 Mode 1= head 2= wheel barrow 3= scotch-cart 4= vehicle 5= bicycle 6= other Specify

2 Seasonality 1= Yes 2= No

J16. Indicate source of fuel for heating and cooking?

Firewood	Electricity	Gas	Paraffin	Charcoal	Coal	Cow Dung	Other

1= Yes 2= No

J17. If firewood is it readily available? *1= Yes 2= No* |____|

Distance to source	Amount used daily kgs	Mode of transport 1	Frequency of weekly firewood collection	Time taken to collect firewood per week	Quality/energy production of the firewood
|____|	|_____|	|_____|	|_____|	

1 Mode 1= head 2= wheel barrow 3= scotch-cart 4= vehicle 5= bicycle 6= other Specify

2 Seasonality 1= Yes 2= No

J18. Do you have a toilet? *1= Yes 2= No* |_____|

J19. Type of used |_____|

1= pit latrine 2= Blair 3= Bush 4= Neighbour 5= Communal 6= fields 99 Other (specify)

J20. Has there any government or NGO toilet construction program in this area? *1= Yes 2= No* |_____|

J21. Has anyone in the household suffered from diarrhoeal disease in the last 3 months? *1= Yes 2= No* |_____|

J22. Do you have access to washing facilities in the area? |_____| *1= Yes 2= No*

J23. If no where do you do your laundry? |_____|

1= home 2= river 3= nearby dam 4= borehole 5= neighbour 99 Other (specify)

J24. Indicate detergents do you use for laundry purposes |_____|

1= None 2= bar soap 3= washing powder 4= washing liquid 99 Other (specify) **END**

In-depth Interview Guide (English)

Introduction:
Welcome, provide overview of next 2 hours
This in-depth interview guide will be used together with the informed consent form herewith attached.

After this introduction ask participant if (s) he has questions for clarification.

The discussion will take a rolling and flexible approach ensuring that some of the issues which will arise but not necessarily in this schedule will be given attention.

In-depth Interview No_____ Embedded Unit of Analysis: 1 2 ☐ ☐

Male ☐ nale Age ☐ Level of Education: Primary Secondar ☐ iploma + ☐ ☐

Category: A1 ☐ ☐ Size of Farm _____

Possession of Tenure Document: Yes ☐ ☐

Category of Landholding: Own right ☐ t holding Secor ☐ ry/dependant Inherited ☐
Specify… ☐ ……

No of children by age in the household: 5 yrs and below 6- ☐ rs 15-17 yrs ☐ ☐

Membership of any Farmer Organisation: Yes ☐ Orga ☐ ation …….

RQ 1: Enhancement of productive capacities and accumulation

1.1 To what extent ha access to land through the FTLLRP enhanced your productive capacities with respect to the following categories:

(i) Access to water for irrigation purposes

(ii) Access to inputs including fertilisers

(iii) Better pest control

1.2 How would you compare your life, living conditions and wellbeing for you and your household before accessing land and thereafter?

1.3 Access to capital to finance farming activities is critical for productive farming. Have you ever accessed capital in your own right? To what extent has your access to land via the FTLRP enabled you to access credit? To what extent has this enhanced your productive capacities?

1.4 What challenges are female land beneficiaries are encountering in relation to male land beneficiaries in access credit to enhance your farming activities? What initiatives have you taken to overcome the challenges?

1.5 Access to training and skills is important to any farmer to enhance his or her farming activities. To what extent has access to land via the FTLRP enabled you to access farmer training programmes? Can you explain some of the skills you have acquired and the extent to which they have enhanced you productive capacities? How would you compare your life, living conditions and wellbeing for you and your household before gaining access and thereafter?

1.6 Are there any particular challenges female land beneficiaries are encountering in relation to male land beneficiaries to gain access to these training programmes either in terms of times of the day trainings are conducted, fees which may be charged, distances or any other challenges?

1.7 Would you describe how you access water for irrigation purposes? To what extent has access to land via the FTLRP enabled you to access water for irrigation purposes? To what extent has it enhanced your productive capacities compared to the period before gaining access to land?

1.8 What challenges are female land beneficiaries facing in relation to male land beneficiaries in accessing water for irrigation with regard to water permits, user fees and quantise of water you can access and time of access to enhance your productive capacities? What possible solutions do have to these challenges? What has been the effect on the lives, living conditions and wellbeing for you and your household?

1.9 What is your role in the value chain in the production of sugarcane/ cotton? How critical are you to the survival of the company involved in the production of sugar/cotton in this area? To what extent has access to land via the FTLRP enabled you to play this role?

1.10 To what extent has this contributed to better living conditions and wellbeing for you and your household compared to the conditions prior to gaining access to land?

1.11in terms of investment on land how has the FTLRP enabled you to build facilities on the farm and purchase farm implements? To what extent has this enhanced your productive capacities comparing with the period before accessing land? How has this enhanced living conditions and wellbeing for you and your household since gaining access to land?

1.12 In terms of household welfare improvement what other household goods have you managed to purchase following access to land via the FTLRP. To what extent has this contributed to a better living conditions and wellbeing for your household compared to the conditions prior to gaining access to land?

1.13 In terms of land tenure can you explain how you got access to the land tenure you now hold? To what extent do you feel secure on the land with regard to the tenure papers you now hold compared to the situation prior to accessing land? To what extent may this be affecting your investment on land to enhance you productive capacities? What challenges did women land beneficiaries faced in relation to men in obtaining title to land? How was these challenges dealt with?

1.14 On the land allocated to you via the FTLRP what per centage is under utilisation? What challenges may you be encountering to fully utilise the whole piece of land allocated to you?

1.15 How many people do you employ (both paid and unpaid labour)? Do you at times hire casual labour, how many and during which periods of the year? What types of jobs do you have here? How do you attract and retain labour in relation to other male land beneficiaries surrounding you and are there any labour disputes between farmers? How much do your workers earn either weekly or monthly? What other benefits are your employees entitled to such as social security, education support, housing electricity, water and access to subsidised health? How does household unpaid labour get remunerated? To what extent has this enhanced your lives, living conditions and wellbeing in comparison to your experiences before accessing land?

1.16 Describe the output levels in the past few years both in terms of crops and livestock in comparison to the period prior to accessing land? Which year do you describe as the best in terms of output? On the average what are your total annual earnings per year you get after sale of your farm produce? How do you compare with your experiences before gaining access to land? What have been some challenges women land beneficiaries are facing in relation to men to enhance their productive capacities? What can you give as possible solutions?

1.17 Where and how do you market both your crop and livestock outputs from the farm? What mode of transport do you use to market your farm produce? Do you pay to market you produce at these markets or any other requirements needed to market you produce at these markets? What challenges may female land beneficiaries encountering in relation to men in marketing their farm output? How have you overcome these challenges?

1.18 How do you get paid after delivery or marketing of your farm produce? How easily and regularly do get paid and to what extent does it enable your planning activities for the next season? Are you pleased with the prices being offered at the market for your produce and to what extent has this enhanced living conditions and wellbeing for your household compared to your previous experience prior to accessing land?

1.19 Do you also engage in barter trade? Which crops do you barter with and in exchange with what? To what extent has all these contributed to better living conditions and wellbeing for you and your household in comparison with your experiences prior to accessing land?

1.20To what extent has your access of land via the FTLRP increased your stock of personal relationships (social networks) and knowledge of institutions that you can utilise to access inputs, credit, insurance and even land titles? To what extent has this enhanced your productive capacities as well as living conditions and wellbeing within your households compared to the conditions prior to accessing land?

RQ 2 Transformation of social institutions, social relations and other relations of production

2.1Please describe how you got access to land via the FTLRP? What challenges did female land beneficiaries faced in relation to men in gaining access to land? How did you overcome these challenges?

2.2 Compared to your experiences prior to accessing land via the FTLRP how has access to land enhanced your living conditions and wellbeing for your household?

2.3 In terms of economic independence to what extent has the FTLRP, enabling independent ownership of land, liberated you from economic dependence on an employer, spouse or relatives? How do you compare with the situation prior to access to land? To what extent has this contributed to better living conditions and wellbeing for you and your household?

2.4 On this land allocated to you who else might be farming on a portion you may have lent out? In terms of inheritance rights to who are you able to transfer your rights to this land according to the permits or lease you hold?

2.5 Social relations of production including gender relations give others right to expropriate the value of what is produced by others. To what extent has access to land via the FTLRP enabled you to gain control of the fruits of your labour and the right of disposal over the product and dispose at your discretion?

2.6 How have this contributed to better living conditions and wellbeing for you and your household?

2.7 How has independent and direct right of ownership of means of production brought about by the FTLRP transformed your social and economic position, power, influence and participation in decision-making within the household, family and community at large? How do you compare with your experiences prior to accessing land via the FTLRP?

2.8 To what extent has the new social and economic status enabled access to resources such as inputs and credit to enhance your productive capacities and meeting your own and household needs?

2.9 Within your farming activities after accessing bigger sizes of land following the FTLRP do you have particular plots, crops, livestock and granaries ‘a preserve’ for a particular

spouse? If so which are they, how is the 'preserve' spent? What have been the effects on the wellbeing and living conditions for you, your spouse and the household at large?

2.10 Following access to land via the FTLRP, how are decisions with regard to what to produce and the hectares to crop reached for a particular season? After sale of agricultural output what are your major expenses? How are decisions with regard to farm and household expenditures reached within the household? How do you compare this with your experiences prior to gaining access to land via the FTLRP?

2.11 How are the needs of all household members met and the resulting individual wellbeing and living conditions for the whole household?

2.12 Are you a member of any Farmer's organisation around here? If so what position do you hold in the organisation? What is the gender composition of the organisation and to what extent does the composition champion the interests of both female and male land beneficiaries?

2.13 To what extent has the membership of the Farmer's organisation enhanced your productive capacities and enhanced wellbeing and living conditions for your household compared to your experiences prior to accessing land?

RQ 3: Household protection from socio-economic vulnerabilities

3.1 To what extent has the right to possess, use, managed, and control land via the FTLRP enabled you to earn income creating an income guarantee and contributing to your household protection from socio-economic vulnerabilities? How would you describe your cash inflows and disposable income during the course of the year? How do you compare with your experiences before accessing land and the situation thereafter?

3.2 How would you describe your lives, living conditions and wellbeing before and after accessing land and since then?

3.3 Would you describe the extent to which access to land via the FTLRP has increased your household food security in terms of food availability and access and increased household disposable incomes? Describe your experiences before gaining access to land and the situation thereafter? To what extent has it been transformed? To what extent has it enhanced your lives, living conditions and wellbeing for you and your household?

3.4 What different crops do you produce? Which ones go to feed the family and which ones are for the market? Of your total production of staple crops how much do you retain for your own use? To what extent has this protected your household from food insecurity? How do you compare your situation prior to access and the conditions since then?

3.5 How many meals do your family afford per day? Does this vary during the course of the year? Would you describe what you usually take at each meal and variations during the course of the year? To what would you attribute the changes? What have been your experiences before access to land and how do you compare with the conditions since then?

3.6 To what extent has the FTLRP created a source of employment and protection from destitution not only for you but household members, relatives and other people? What have you been engaged in prior to access to land? How do you compare your experiences with since gaining access to land via the FTLRP? To what extent has this enhanced your lives, living conditions and wellbeing for you and your household?

3.7 To what extent has access to land enabled you access to shelter for you, household members and other people working on the farm? How do you compare with you situation prior to accessing land via the FTLRP? To what extent has it transformed your lives, living conditions and wellbeing for you and your household?

3.8 To what extent has access to means of production via the FTLRP programme enabled access to health for your family? What have been your experiences prior to accessing land? To what extent has it enhanced the lives, living conditions and wellbeing for you and your household?

3.9 Following increased real incomes following the FTLRP have you used some of your earnings to make contribution towards life insurance programmes or a pension saving in preparation for old age?

3.10 What are some investment plans you have initiated in preparation for a time when you shall not be able to continue with farming activities?

3.11 Overall, to what extent has the FTLRP enabled your household to obtain a reasonable standard of living and wellbeing in comparison to your experiences prior to gaining access to land via the FTLRP?

3.12 Are you a member of any women or men's community group which cater for women or men's needs in the community? To what extent are the groups contributing to better welfare outcomes for households within the community?

RQ 4: Transformation of social reproduction strategies

4.1 How has the FTLRP transformed your social reproduction strategies to meet household costs of reproduction such as education, food, shelter, clothing, and transport among others? How would you describe your means of earning a living prior to accessing land and after accessing land? To what extent has it been transformed?

4.2 How would you describe the changes prior to access to land via the FTLRP and the situation since accessing land in terms of household living conditions and wellbeing?

4.3 What social reproduction strategies has the FTLRP opened for women land beneficiaries in relation to male land beneficiaries to meet costs of social reproduction and household survival mechanisms? What other non-farm economic activities do you engage in? During which period of the year do you engage in these non-farm activities? How do you compare your experiences prior to access land and the situation thereafter? To what extent has it been transformed and the extent to which the wellbeing and living conditions enhanced for you and your household?

4.4 What other petty commodity trade, such as, retail shops, bars, butcheries, transport and so on are women land beneficiaries are engaged in relation to men as part of their social reproduction mix complementing farming activities which you can attribute to access to land via the FTLRP?

4.5 To what extent has it contributed to better lives, living conditions and wellbeing for you and your household? How do you compare your experiences now with the one before gaining access to land via the FTLRP?

4.6 Do you have child care services nearby? What is the approximate distance to the nearest childcare centre, primary and secondary schools? How would you describe the conditions here in terms provision of social services compared to where you were before access to land via the FTLRP?

4.7 Who usually takes care of sick members of the household? What is the approximate distance to the nearest clinic or hospital? Does the household have a means of transport?

4.8 How would you describe the division of reproductive tasks and productive tasks within the household between different members of the household? Does the household employ a maid? To what extent does it affect the wellbeing of different members making up the household?

4.9 In terms of balance between work (farming activities), care responsibilities and personal care how would you describe your distribution of time on all these activities between women in relation to men? What has been the effect in terms of available time for personal care, leisure and rest? What are your suggestions with regard to time poverty and having to working longer hours?

4.10 What is your household condition with regard to the following characteristics and the extent to which they contribute to better wellbeing for all members of the household?

(i) Source of water, distance to nearest source, and water availability during the course of the year

(ii) Sources of energy for cooking and heating, time taken to collect energy

(iii) Availability sanitation facilities and risk of diarrhoeal diseases

(iv) Availability of washing facilities and type of detergents used for washing?

Is there anything that we have not covered that you would like to discuss with me?

THANK YOU FOR YOUR TIME. I REALLY APPRECIATE YOUR ASSISTANCE IN GRANTING ME THIS INTERVIEW.

In-depth Interview Guide- Local Language (Shona)

Chingamidzo nekuzivana:
Chingamidzo nekupa muchidimbu zvichaitwa munguva inotevera
Mibvunzo ino yehurukuro ichashanda pamwe nebepa remvumo yekupinda muhurukuro iyi.

Mumashure mazvo mukurukuri achapiwa mukana wokubvunza mibvuno paanengeasina kunzwisisa.

Hurukuro ichabata mibvunzo imwe ingangobuda inogona kunge isina kunyorwa pasi.

In-depth Interview No_____ Embedded Unit of Analysis: 1 2 ☐ ☐

Male ☐nale Age☐ Level of Education: Primary Secondar☐iploma + ☐ ☐

Category: A1☐ ☐ Size of Farm _____

Possession of Tenure Document: Yes☐ ☐

Category of Landholding: Own right .☐t holding Secor☐y/dependant Inherited ☐
Specify…☐……

No of children by age in the household: 5 yrs and below 6-☐/rs 15-17 yrs☐ ☐

Membership of any Farmer Organisation: Yes☐ Orga☐ation …….

RQ 1: Kusimudzirwa kwemarimiro nekuwana

1.1 Mungatitsananguriraw here kuti kuwanakwamakaita munda kuburikidza nechirongwa chehurumende cheFTLP chakasimudzira zvakadii marimiro enyu takatarisana nezvinotevera:

(i) Kuwanikwa kwemukana wekushandisa madiridziro

(ii) Kuwanikwa kwezvekurimisa zvakaita sembeu nemunyu wevhu

(iii) Kukwanisa kudzivirira zvirimwa kubva kuzvipembenene

1.2 Izvi zvakashandura zvaakadii marirmiro enyu uye kusimudzira ugaro hwemhuri yenyu?

1.3 Kukwanisa kuwana mari yekusimudzira marimiro kwakakosha zvikuru kumurimi wose. Makambowana here here mari yekurimisa iyi kumabhanga kana kumwe makazvimirira pachenyu uye chirongwa chekugohwa kweminda chehurumende chakakubatsirai zvakadii kuwana mari dzekurimisa idzi?

1.4 Ndaapi matambudziko nezvibingamupinyi zvamuri kusanaganika nazvo sevarimi mukuwana mari dzekurimisa idzi kuti musimudzire mabasa enyu ezvekurima uye ndaapi mazano amuri kuedza pachenyu kuedza kuzvibatisra padambudziko miri?

1.5 Kuwanikwa kwezvidzidzo zvine chekuita nezvekurima kwakakoshera murimi wose kusimudzira basa rake rezvekurima. Mungatsanangura here kuti kuwana kwenyu munda muchirongwa chehurumende chekugohwa patsva kweminda chakubatitsirai zvakadii kuwana dzidzo yezvekurima? Mungatanangura here zvimwe zvezvamakadzidza mune zvekurima zvamave kugona uye kuti ruzivo urwu rwamuri kuwna rwurimkusimudzira zvakadii mabasa enyu ezvekurima pamwe chete nekusimudzira ugaro hweimba nemhuri enyu?

1.6 Pane here matambudziko amungati muri kusanganikwa nawo kuwana ruzivo nekupinda muzvidzidzo zvekurima izvi zvingava nemaringe nekushaikwa kwenguva kana nguva yazvinoitwa, mari dzingadiwa kubhadhara kupinda muzvidzidzo izvi kana zvimwewo zvipingaidzo hazvo?

1.7 Kuwanikwa kwemvumo yekushandisa mvura yemadiridziro mumabasa ezvekurima kunosiyana pakati pevakadzi nevarume. Mungatsanangura here kuti kuwa kwenyu munda muchirongwa chehurumende chekugohwa patsva kweminda cheFTLRP chakakubatsirai sei kuwana mvura yemadiridziro uye kuti zvakasimudzira zvakadii mabasa enyu ezvekurima?Mungatsanangure here mawaniro uye mashandisiro amuri kuita mvura yemadiridziro zvine maringe nekuwanikwa kwemapepa ekushandisa mvura (water permits), mari dzamungava muri kubhadhara kushandisa mvura iyi uye neuwandu hwemvura yamuri kukwanisa kuwana nezvimwewo kusimudzira mabasa enyu ezvekurima?

1.8 Mungatsanangure here kuti izvi zvakasimudzira zvakadii mabasa enyu ekurima pamwe chete nemagariro emhuri dzenyu? Ndezvipi zvingava zvibingamupinyi muri kusanangana nazvo kuwana mvura yemadiridziro uye matambudziko aya angagadziriswa sei?

1.9 Chiredzi inozivikanwa zvikuru munyaya nekugadzirwa kwetsvigiri pamwe nekurimwa kwedonje. Mungatsanangure here kuti imi basa renyu nderei mugadzirwa kwezvinhu izvi? Mungatsanangura here kuti kuwana kwenyu munda kuburikidza nechirongwa chehurumende cheFTLRP chakakuwanisai sei mukana wekupinda uye kuva nechekuita mukugadzirwa kwetsvigiri? Izvi zvaksimudzira zvakadii ugaro hweimba pamwe nemhuri yenyu?

1.10 Tingati izvi zvabatsira zvakadii kukuwanisa mukana wekuwana nekuunganidza upfumi pamwe nekusimudzira ugaro hwemhuri yenyu?

1.11Takatarisana nezvine chkuita nekutenga nekuvaka zvine chekuita nekurima kwenyu ndezvipi zvamkakwanisa kuvaka nekutenga kusimudzira mabasa enyu ezvekurima zvichitevera kuwana kwenyu munda muchirongwa chehurumende cheFTLRP? Izvi zvaksimudzira zvakadii mabasa enyu ekurima pamwe neugaro hweimba nemhuri yenyu?

1.12 Mune zvekuita nezvemagariro neupenyu hwemuri yenyu ndeipi midziyo yemumba yamakwania kutenga zvichitevera kuwana kwenyu minda muchrongwa chehurumende cheFTLRP uye zvasimudzira zvakadii upenyu hwenyu semurimi?

1.13 Maererano nezvekunyoreswa uye kuva nemapepa eminda mungatsanangure here kuti zvakafamba sei kuti muwane mapeapa eminda aya? Semaonero nekunzwa kwenyu munoona mapepa aya ane masimba akdii ekuva kwenyu nemunda musingazobviswi zvakare? Izvi zvingagona zviri zvipingaidzo here mukurima kwenyu zvakanangana nekuvaka uye kuisa mari mune zvekurima?

1.14 Pamunda wose wamakwana kuburikidza nechirongwa chehurumende chekugohwa patsva kweminda cheFTLRP pamuri kurima pakakura zvakdii? Pane zvipingaidzo here zvamuri kusangana nazvo zvingava zviri kukukonesai kunyatsoshandisa munda wose wamakawana?

1.15 Takatarisana nevashandi vari pamuhoro neveimba imba yenyu vamusingapi muhoro vangani vatingati vanoshanda pano? Vashandi venyu vanowana mihoro yakadii pangava pasvondo kana pamwedzi? Ndezvipi zvimwewo zvamunopa vashandi venyu kunze kwemihoro yavo? Ko vemumba munovabhadharwo sei?

1.16 Mushure mekuwana munda muchirongwa chehurumende cheFTLRP mungatsanangura here mikohwo yenyu ingava ekumunda kana mari dzinowanikwa mushure muketengesa zvrimwa zvenyu?Ndaapi makore amungati mabasa enyu ekurima akasimukira zvikuri uye paakaderera zvikuru nezvikonzero zvacho? Iyi mikohwo nemari zvasimudzira zvakadii ugaro neupenyu hweimba nemhuri yenyu?

1.17 Kuwana kwenyu mnuda kuburikidza nechirongwa chehurumende chekugohwa patsva kweminda cheFTLRP chawedzera zvakadii kudyidzana nekuzivana nevanhu uye vamwe vangagone kukubatsirai mukuwana zvinhu zvakaita sembeu, mari dzekurimisa, kana mapepa

eminda muksusimudzira mabasa ekurimwa kwamuri kuita pamwe neugaro hweimba nemhuri yenyu?

1.18 Ndaapi matambudziko amuri kusanganikwa nawo mukuwana zvimwe zvezvinhu izvi?

RQ 2 Kushanduka kweukama, magariro pakati pevanhukadzi nevanhurume uye dzimwe tsika nemaitiro

2.1 Dzimwe tsika nemaitiro anoita kuwanikwa kweminda kuve kunosiyana pakati pevanhukadzi nevanhurume. Mungatsanangura here mawaniro amkaita munda muchirongwa chekugohwa patsva kweminda nehurumende cheFTLRP, zvipingaidzo nematambudziko amakasangana nawo uye makundiro amakita matambudziko aya?

2.2 Mungati kuwana kwenyu munda uku kwasimudzira zvakadii upenyu neugaro hweimba nemhri yenyu?

2.3 Takatarisana nekukwanisa uye kodzero yekuzviwanira zvinhu pachenyu mungatsanangura sei zvamunonzwa pakuwana munda uri muzita menyu nekukwanisa kuzviitra zvinhu zvenyu pachenyu nekuda kwechrongwa chekugohwa patsva kweminda nehurumende cheFTLRP?

2.4 Pamunda uno wamakawana muzita renyu pane vamwe vari kurimawo here vanogona kunge vakakumbirawo pekurima mukavawanisa? Tkatarisana nekusiiyra munda senhaka ndekunaani kwamunogona kusiyira munda vzichienderana nemapepa emunda amunawo?

2.5 Takatarisana nekusungukuka kuzviwanira mari pachenyu kuburikidza nekushanda pamunda tingati chirongwa chehurumende ichi chekugohwa patsva kweminda chakusungurai zvakadii kumirira mari niobva kumurungu, murume kana hama? Kusunguka uku kwakasimudzira zvakadii upenyu hwenyu imi pachenyu pamwe chete nehwemhuri yenyu?

2.6 Tsika dzedu nemagariro evanhu uye pakati pevanhukadzi nevanhurume kunoti goho rese nderababa. Tingati kuwana kwenyu munda muchirongwa chehurumende cheFTLRP chakubatsirai zvakadii kuzvirimira nekuzviwanira zvamungati ndezvenyu nekukwanisa kushandisa zvinobva pamunda sekuda kwenyu?

2.7 Izvi zvingagona kunge zvasimudzira zvakadii epenyu hwenyu pachenyu imi pamwe neugaro hwemhuri yenyu?

2.8 Kuziwanira munda pachenyu muzita renyu nekuda kwechirongwa chekugohwa patsva kweminda nehurumende chasimudzira zvakadii chimiro chenyu munharaunda, kukwanisawo kuvanechekuita nekutaura nekupawo pfungwa mukati memba, mhuri nemunharaunda yamunogara?

2.9 Tingati chidanho chitsva ichi chakubatsirai zvakadii kuwana zvekushandisa pakurima kwenyu zvakaita sembeu, munyu wevhu, mari dzekurima kusimudzira mabasa enyu ezvekurima nekusimudzira ugaro hweimba nemhuri yenyu?

2.10 Mukurima kwenyu kwamuri kuita semhuri mushure mekuwana minda yakakura nekuda kwechrongwa chehurumende chekugohwa minda patsva (FTLRP) mune minda here, zvirimwa kana zvipfuwo kana matura anganzi ndezvaamai kana baba? Zvingava zvirimwa kana zvipfuwo zvipi uye zvinoshanda sei mukati memhuri? Urongwa uhwu huri kubatsira sei muugaro hweimba nemhuri yese?

2.11 Pakurima kwenyu pamunda mungatsanangure here kuti mazano ane chekuita nekuti torima zvirimwa zvipi uye pakakura zvakadii pamwaka woga woga munoafambisa sei? Pakurima kwenyu matengesa zvirimwa zvenyu zvamungati ndizvo zvikuru zvinotora mari yenyu ndezvipi? Mazano ane chekuit nemari yamungaisa kana kudzosera mukurima uye inagashanda mumba munoasvika sei?

2.12 Ko zvinodiwa neumwe neumwe hwemhuri munozvizadzikisa sei pamwe nekufara kwemumwe nemumwe wemhuri yenyu?

2.13 Muri nhengo here pachenyu yemaSangano evarimi ari munharaunda ino yeChiredzi? Kana muri nhengo chigaro chipi chamuri nacho? Takatarisa uwandu hwevanhukadzi nevanhurume pane vanotungamirira tingati zvidiso zvevanhukadzi nezvidiso zvevanhurume zviri kumirirwa zvakadii musangano renyu?

2.14 Kuva nhengo kwenyu musangano iri revarimi kwasimudzira zvakadii mabasa enyu ezvekurima pamwe neugaro hweimba pamwe nemhuri yenyu?

RQ 3:Kudzivirirwa kweimba nemhuri kuurombo nekushaiwa

3.1 Kukwanisa kuvanemunda muzita renyu, kuushandisa nekuvanesimba pane zvamashanda pamunda nekuda kwechirongwa chehurumende chekugohwa patsva keminda chakwanisa zvakadi kukugonesai kuwana mari nguva nenguva kubatsisira kudzivirira kushaiwa mukati meimba yenyu? Mungatsanangure sei kupinda kwemari kubva mukurima kwenyu mukati megore?

3.2 Tingati izvi zvasimudzira zvakadii ugaro hweimba pamwe nemhuri yenyu?

3.3 Mungatsanangure kuti kuwana kwenyu minda mushure mechirongwa chekugohwa patsva kweminda nehurumende kwabatsira zvakadii kuve nechekudya chinokwana chemhuri yenyu mukati megore rese? Izvi tingati zvasimudzira zvakadii upenyu neugaro hwemukati meimba yenyu?

3.4 Ndezvipi zvirimwa zvamunorima zvekutengesa pamunda wenyu? Munorimawo zvakare chibage here? Ndezvipi zvamunoita nezvirimwa zvenyu kuti muve nechokwadi kuti mhuri

yenyu ine kudya kwakakwana mukati megore rose? Zviri kuchengetedza zvakadii kuona kuti mhuri ine kudya kunokwana mukati megore?

3.5 Mhuri yenyu inowana nguva dzekudya kangani mukati mezuva zvinoita zvichisiyana here zvichienderana nemwaka mugore? Ndekupi kudya kunowanikwa nemhuri yenyu panguva imwe neimwe yekudya zvinowanikwa izvi zvinosiyana siyana here nemawka wegore? Chii chingave chichikonzera kusiyana siyana uku?

3.6 Tingati kugohwa patsva kweminda nnehurumende muchirongwa cheFTLRP chakakuwanisai zvakadii basa riri kukudziviririrai kubva muurombo hunounzwa nekushaiwa basa kwenyu, hama pamwe nevanokushandirai?

3.7 Kuwana kwenyu munda kwakubatsirai zvakadii kuwana pokugara penyu, mhri yenyu uye vanokushandirai?

3.8 Kuwana kwenyu munda muchirongwa chehurumende chekugohwa patsva kweminda cheFTLRP kwakubatsirai zvakadii kuwana dzingava mari dzekuzvirapisa mumakiriniki nemuzvipatara kwenyu, pamwe nemhuri yenyu. Izvi zvakasimudzira zvakadii ugaro hwenyu pamwe nehwemhuri yenyu?

3.9 Nekuda kwekuwedzera kwekuwana kwenyu mushure mmekuwana munda muchirongwa chehurumende cheFTLRP pane dzimwe mari here dzamuri kubhadhara zvakaita sema life insurance kana penjeni kugadzirira nguva yemudyandigere?

3.10 Ndezipi zvimwe zvamungava muri kuita mukati mekushanda kwenyu pamunda kugadzirira nguva yamuchange musisakwanise kuramba muchishanda pamunda?

3.11 Pane zvose tingati chirongwa chekugohwa patsva kweminda cheFTLRP chasimudzira zvakadii mararamiro enyu neemhuri yenyu uye nekuva neugaro huri nani?

3.12 Muri nhengo here yemaboka angavepo emadzimai kana vana baba aripo kuona nekusimudzira magariro neupenyu hwaanababa kana vanaamai munharaunda? Mapoka aya tingati ari kusimudzira zvakadii upenyu hwenyu pamwe neugaro hwemhuri dzenyu kuno kuminda?

RQ 4: Kushandurwa kwemhindiko dzekukudza nekuraramisa mhuri

4.1 Chirongwa chekugohwa patsva minda chehurumende cheFTLRP chakashandura zvakadii mhindiko dzenyu dzekukudza nekuraramisa mhuri zvakaita sei kuwana mari dzezvikoro dzevana, kuwana kudya kwemhuri, kuwana pekugara, zvekupfeka nezvose zvingadiwa muupenyu?

4.2 Shanduko iyi tingati yasimudzira zvakadii ugaro hweimba pamwe nemhuri yenyu?

4.3 Ndedzipi mhindiko itsva chirongwa chehurumende chekugohwa patsva minda chakazarura nekuunza kwamuri pamwe nemhuri dzenyu kuti dzirarame?

4.4 Ndeapi mawe mabasa ekutengesa ari kuita anogona kunge akaunzwa nekuda kwechirongwa chehurumende chekugohwa patsva minda cheFTLRP kubatsira mumhindiko dzenyu dzekushava kuraramisa mhuri?

4.5 Mabasa ekutengesa aya ari kubetserawo zvakadii kusimudzira ugaro hweimba pamwe nemhuri yenyu?

4.6 Mukati menharaunda ino zvinhu zvakaita semakirechi, zvikoro zveprimary nesecondary zviri pedyo zvakadii? Vana vanoenda kupi kuti vawane dzidzo yavo?

4.7 Ndiani anowanzotarisa vanenge varwara mukati memhuri yenyu? Kiriniki iri pedyo iri nhambo yakadii kubva pano? Mnuowanzoshandisa chii kuenda kukiriniki kana pane arwara?

4.8 Kugowewa kwemabasa epamba pamwe neekumunda akamira sei mukati mehuri yenyu? Mune mushandi wemumba here mumba menyu? Mnuoona kuti kugowewa kwemabasa uku kungagona kuri kuwanzira dzimwe nhengo dzemhuri basa nekushanda nguva refu kudarika dzimwe here?

4.9 Mungatsanangure here chimiro chepamusha wenyu maringe nezvinotevera?

(i) Mvura yekunwa, nhambo, uye kuwanikwa kwayo nguva yegore

(ii) Chinoshandiswa kubika nkudziyirwa kemhuri, nguva yamgtora kuwana chekubikisa ichi

(iii) Kuvepo kwechimbuzi nekudzivirirwa kwezvirwere zvakaita semanyoka

(iv) Kuvepo nepewachira nekusukira uye zvinoshandiswa pakuwacha

Mungati kuwanikwa kana kusawanikwa kweizvi kuri kubatisra kana kukanganisa sei ugaro hwenyu pamwe nemhuri yenyu?

Pane zvimwe zvatisina kutaura here zvamungada kukurukura neni here?

NDINOKUTENDAI NENGUVA YAMANDIPA KUTAURA NEMI PAMWE NERUBATSIRO RWENYU.

Magumo

Focus Group Discussion Guide (English)

Facilitators Names: _____ Name of Reporter: _____

Number of Participants: ____

Introduction:
Welcome, provide overview of next 3 hours
This focus group discussion guide will be used together with the informed consent form herewith attached. A gate keeper could introduce the researcher to the focus group participants.

After this introduction ask participants if they have questions for clarification.

The discussion will take a rolling and flexible approach ensuring that some of the issues which will arise but not necessarily in this schedule will be given attention

RQ 1: Enhancement of productive capacities and accumulation

1.1 To what extent has access to land via the FTLRP enabled women land beneficiaries in relation men to access credit/capital to enhance your productive capacities? What have been your experiences prior to gaining access to land in terms f access to credit? To what extent access to credit enhanced your productive capacities?

1.2 What are some of the challenges women land beneficiaries in relation to male land beneficiaries are encountering to access credit/capital to enhance your productive capacities? What are possible solutions to these challenges?

1.3 What are some of the initiatives you have taken as land beneficiaries to overcome the challenge of accessing credit/capital?

1.4 To what extent has access to land via the FTLRP facilitated access to farmer training and skills development by female land beneficiaries in relation to male land beneficiaries to enhance your productive capacities? What have been your experiences prior to accessing land in terms of access to farmer training programmes?

1.5 What challenges are female land beneficiaries in relation to male land beneficiaries are facing to gain access to these farmer training and skill development in terms of time, costs and distances? What do you suggest as possible solutions to overcome these challenges?

1.6 To what extent has access to these farmer training and skills development enhanced your productive capacities and contributed to better lives and living conditions for you and your households?

1.7 Access to water for irrigation is critical for productive farming. To what extent has the FTLRP enabled access to water for irrigation by female land beneficiaries in relation to male

land beneficiaries and the extent it has enhanced their productive capacities? What challenges are female land beneficiaries in relation to male land beneficiaries are encountering in gaining access to water for irrigation? What have been the effects on the lives, living conditions and wellbeing for female and male-headed households in comparison to the experiences prior to the FTLRP?

1.8 What do you suggest as possible solutions to the challenge of access to water for irrigation?

1.9 In terms of tenure can you explain how women land beneficiaries got title to land? What challenges do women land beneficiaries faced in relation to men land beneficiaries to obtain title in their own names? How did you overcome the challenges? To what extent do you feel secure on the land with regard to the tenure papers you now hold in? How do you compare with the situation prior to gaining access to land via the FTLRP? What do you suggest the government should do to enhance security of tenure?

1.10 To what extent may this be affecting your investment on land to enhance you productive capacities?

1.11In terms of farm investment on land to what extent has the FTLRP enabled women land beneficiaries in relation to men to build facilities on the farm and purchase farm implements? To what extent has this enhanced your productive capacities? How has this enhanced the lives, living conditions and wellbeing for you and your household?

RQ 2:Transformation of social institutions, social relations and other relations of production

2.1In terms of economic independence to what extent has the FTLRP, enabling independent ownership of land, liberated you from economic dependence on an employer, spouse of relatives? How do you compare with your experiences prior to access to land via the FTLRP?

2.2To what extent has this contributed to better lives, living conditions and wellbeing for you and your household?

2.3To what extent has access to land via the FTLRP dispelled misconceptions of women capabilities in relation to men to produce enough for their households and the nation at large? How do you compare with your experiences prior to gaining access to land via the FTLRP? What evidence do you have to point to this?

2.4 In terms of social mobility to what extent has access to land via the FTLRP and participation in expanded commodity production by female and male land beneficiaries transformed the social and economic status of women in relation to males in newly resettled areas of Chiredzi?

2.5 To what extent has this social and economic transformation brought about by the FTLRP leveraged bargaining power of women in relation to men in household, family and community decision-making processes? To what extent has this enhanced the lives and living conditions for women and men in the newly resettled areas of Chiredzi?

2.6 What new crops has access to land via the FTLRP enabled you to cultivate? To what extent has this transformed social and economic situation of women in relation to men? To what extent has cultivation of these crops led to better lives and living conditions for female and male-headed households? How do you compare with your past experiences prior to accessing land via the FTLRP?

2.7 Structural social institutions govern access to land by women and men? What challenges did you encounter as female land beneficiaries in relation to male land beneficiaries to gain access to land in your own right and how did you overcome these challenges? What have bent e effect on the lives, living conditions and wellbeing for you and your household?

2.8 As land beneficiaries of the FTLRP to what extent has your access to land transformed social relations of production in which the men 'own' the product of social labour and has right over its disposal? What has been your experience with regard to this and what have been the effects on the wellbeing both female and male land beneficiaries?

2.9 What would you suggest as possible solution to these challenges for enhancement of lives, living conditions and wellbeing of both female and male land beneficiaries?

2.10 As farmers what Farmer organisations are you affiliated to? What positions are held by females in relation to men within the organisations? How have been the office bearers nominated and what were some of the considerations? To what extent has the gender composition ensure gender equity and representation of female and male farmers' interests?

2.11 As land beneficiaries living in communities where women and men had independent access to land, what other social institutions such as headmen ship are now occupied by women as opposed to men? What have been the effects on the lives and wellbeing for both women and men as a result of such social transformation?

2.12 Are there challenges women is such positions are encountering in relating to men and possible solutions to the challenges?

2.13 In local land courts, tribunal or dispute resolution bodies what is the representation by gender? What positions are held by women in relation to men? What have been the effects on the wellbeing of women and men as a result of such a gender representation?

RQ 3: Household Social Protection

3.1 As land beneficiaries to what extent has access to land represent an income guarantee and a household protection from socio-economic vulnerabilities? How would you describe your

experience prior to accessing land via the FTLRP? To what extent has it enhanced your lives, living conditions and wellbeing as a result of such an income guarantee brought about by the FTLRP?

3.2 As land beneficiaries to what extent has access to land via the FTLRP created a source of employment for you and other people? Comparing with your experiences prior to accessing land and thereafter how would you describe the change you now experience? To what extent has it enhanced the lives, living conditions and wellbeing for your households and your employees?

3.3 In terms of food security as land beneficiaries to what extent has the FTLRP protected female households in relation to male households against food insecurity? How do you ensure that your households are food secure throughout the year? To what extent has this enhanced your lives, living conditions and wellbeing for you and your household? How do you compare your conditions wit the one prior to accessing land via the FTLRP?

3.4 Following access to land how many meals can your households afford per day and food items for each meal? What are possible variations and challenge you face during the course of the year? How would you describe your situation today compared to the one prior to accessing land via the FTLRP?

3.5 To what extent has the FLRP as female and male land beneficiaries provided your households with access to shelter, health for your households? How do you compare with the situation before gaining access to and via the FTLRP?

3.6 To what extent has the FTLRP enabled access to other risk protection measures against illness, death, injury or old age? To what extent have this contributed to better lives and wellbeing for your households?

5.7 Overall, to what extent has the FTLRP raised the living standard of your households and protection form socio-economic vulnerabilities compared to your experiences prior to accessing land?

RQ 4: Transformation of Social Reproduction Strategies

4.1 As land beneficiaries to what extent has the FTLRP created a social reproduction space for you and your households? How do you compare with your experiences prior to obtaining access to land? What have been the attendant wellbeing outcomes with access to land as a space for social reproduction?

4.2 What new social reproduction strategies have opened up to you as female land beneficiaries in relation to male land beneficiaries with following access to land via the FTLRP to meet your household costs of social reproduction? To what extent has it contributed to better lives, living conditions and wellbeing for you and your households?

4.3 What other complementing petty commodity trade are you engaged in as female land beneficiaries in relation to male land beneficiaries such as retail shops, bars, butcheries which you can attribute to the FTLRP? To what extent have they contributed to better lives, living conditions and wellbeing for you and your households?

4.4 In terms of balance between work (farming activities), care responsibilities and personal care how would you describe your distribution of time on all these activities between women in relation to men? What has been the effect in terms of available time for personal care, leisure and rest? What are your suggestions with regard to time poverty and having to working longer hours?

4.5 How would you describe service provision in your area in terms of child care services, water and sanitation, access to clinics, schools? To what extent has provision of social services affected wellbeing of women in relation to men in newly resettled area in Chiredzi?

4.6 As land beneficiaries what other social groups of clubs have you created to cater for your special needs as women/men? To what extent are they contributing to better wellbeing for you and your households?

Is there anything that we have not covered that you would like to discuss with me?

THANK YOU FOR YOUR TIME. I REALLY APPRECIATE YOUR ASSISTANCE IN GRANTING ME THIS GROUP DISCUSSION.

END

Focus Group Discussion Guide Local Language (Shona)

Facilitators Names: _____ Name of Reporter: _____

Number of Participants: ____

Chingamidzo nekuzivana:
Chingamidza vose vauya nekupa muchidimbu zvichaitwa munguva inotevera
Mibvunzo ino yehurukuro ichashanda pamwe nebepa remvumo yeumwe neumwe yaapa kupinda muhurukuro iyi.Anenge acchitungamirira achazivisa Mutsvakurudzi kune vauya.

Mumashure mazvo vakurukuri vachapiwa mukana wokubvunza mibvuno pane pavasina kunzwisisa.

Hurukuro ichabata mibvunzo imwe ingangobuda inogona kunge isisna kunyorwa pasi.

RQ 1: Kusimudzirwa kwezvekurima nekuwana

1.1 Kuwana minda kwevanhukadzi nevanhurume muchirongwa chehurumende chekugohwa minda patsva kuri kubatsira zvakadii kuwana kwavo mari dzekushandisa mumabas avo ekurima?

1.2 Ndezvipi zvipingaidzo vanhukadzi zvichienzaniswa nevanhurume vakawana minda vari kusanganika nazvo kuwana mari dzekusimudzira mabsa avo ekurima muno muChiredzi? Ndeapi mazano amunofunga angaitwa kupedza matambudziko aya?

1.3 Ndezvipi muri kuita sevarimi kuti muwane mari dzekurimisa pachenyu mega?

1.4 Kuwana kwamakaita minda kuburikidza nechirongwa chehurumende chekugohwa minda patsva chakabatsira zvakadii varimi vachidzimai zvichienzaniswa nevarume kuwana dzidzo neruzivo rwezvekurima kusimdzira mabasa avo ekurima?

1.5 Ndeapi matambudziko varimi vanhukadzi zvichiennzaniswa nevanhurume kuti vakakwanise kuwana dzidzo neruzivo rwezvekurima kusimudzira mabasa avo? Ndezipi zvaunofunga zvingaitwa kugadzirisa dambudziko iri?

1.6 Kuwanikwa kwedzidzo neruzivo rwekurima kwabatsira zvakadii kusimudzira ugaro wedzimba nemhuri dzenyu?

1.7 Kuwana mvura yemadiridziro kwakakosha kusimudzira mabasa ezvekurima. Ndezvipi zvibingamupinyi varimi vechikadzi zvichienzaniswa nevechirume vari kusangana nazvo kuwana mvura yemadiridziro kuti vasimudzire mabasa avo ezvekurima?

1.8 Ndezvipi zvamunofunga zvingaitwa kugadzirisa matambudziko aya?

1.9 Pane zvekuita nemapepa amunawo ekuwana minda pane zvamungatyira here pakuva kwenyu nemunda muzita menyu kuburikidza nechirongwa chehurumende chekugohwa patsva kweminda cheFTLRP? Pane nhambo dzamunombotyir kuti mapepa aya haana kukwana here pakuwana kwenyu kwamakaita munda kana mungapa mienzaniso?

1.10 Izvi zvingagona zviri kupingaidza sei kuvaka nekutenga zvingadiwa kusimudzira mabasa enyu ezvekurima? Ndezvipi zvamungafunga hurumende ingaita kusimbisa mapepa enyu ekuwan minda?

1.11 Pakusimudzidzira mabasa enyu ezvekurima ndeipi midziyo yekurima chirongwa chehurumende chekugohwa patsva kweminda chakubatsirai kutenga kuti kurima kwenyu kuve nepundutso?

RQ 2: Kushanduka kweukama, magariro pakati pevanhukadzi nevanhurume uye dzimwe tsika nemaitiro

2.1 Zvichienderana nekusunguka kubva mukutarisira mari kumurungu, murume, mukadzi kana hama chirongwa chehurumende chekugohwa patsva minda chakusungurai zvakadii kugona kuzvitira nekuzviwanira mari pchenyu yekuraramisa mhuri dzenyu?

2.2 Izvi zvingava zvasimudzira zvakdii ugaro hwenyu pamwe nehwemhuri dzenyu sevakadzi/varume vakawana minda nechrongwa cheFTLRP?

2.3Kuwana kwenyu minda kunogona kwakabvisa zvakadii pfungwa nemafungiro kuti vanhukadzi zvichiennaniswa nevanhurume sevarimi havana zvavanokwanisa kuita pakusimudzira kurima kwemumba kana kwenyika uye kusimudziro raramo dzemhuri dzavo?

2.4 Pakusimukira kwechimiro mumba, mumhuri nemunharaunda kuwana kwenyu minda sevanhukadzi/vanhurume uye kutengesa kwezvirimwa kwakaunzwa nechirongwa chehurumende chekugohwa minda patsva kwashanduka zvakadii munharaunda yenyu nio yeChiredzi?

2.5 Chimiro chenyu chitsva ichi chaunzwa neFTLRP chinogona chakubatsirai zvakadii mukupa mazano mungava mumba, mumhuri nemunharaunda yenyu sevarimikadzi zvichenzaniswa nevarimirume?

2.6 Ndezipi zvirimwa zvitsva zvanmave kukwanisa kurima nekuda kwekuwna minda kwamakaita sevanhukadzi zvichienzaniswa nevanhurume muchirongwa chekugohwa patsva kweaminda nehurumenda? Kurima zvirimwa izvi kwasimudzira zvakadii ugaro hwenyu nehwemhuri dzenyu?

2.7 Sevanhukdzi zvichienzaniswa nevanhurume chirongwa chekugohwa minda patsva chehurumende cheFTLRP chakashandura zvakdii mitemo, tsika nemaitiro ane chekuita nekuwanikwa kweminda pakati pevanhurume nevanhukdzi? Ndaapai matambudziko

amakasangana nawo sevanhukadzi zvichienzaniswa nevanhurume vanhurume kuwana minda uye makaakunda sei? Izvi zvasimudzira zvakadii ugaro hwenyu nemhuri dzenyu?

2.8 Sevanhukadzi vakawana minda muchirongwa chehurumende chekugohwa minda patsva chirongwa cheFTLRP chasandura zvakadii tsika inoti goho nderababa? Izi zvinogona kunge zvaunza zvakadii ugaro hakanaka pakati pevanhukadzi nevanhurume mukati menharaunda ino yeChiredzi?

2.9 Ndeapi mazano amunofunga kuti angaita kusimudzira ugaro hwevose vanhukadzi nevanhurume mukati mmenharaunda ino yeChredzi?

2.10 Sevarimi vechikadzi mune masangano ezvekurima here amuri mukati mawo? Ndezvipi zvigaro zvine vanhukadzi nevanhrume musangano renyu iri? Vabati vezvigaro ava vakasarudzwa sei uye ndezipi zvaitariswa? Kumiririrwa kwezvidiso zvevanhukadzi nevanhurume kwakamira zvakadii musangano renyu iri?

2.11 Sevanhukadzi mugere munharaunda vakadzi nevarume vakawana mikana yekuwana minda mumazita avo ndezvipi zvimwe zvemagariro nemitemo zvakaita sehusabhuku zvinogona kunge zvakashanduka nekuda kwechirongwa chekugohwa minda patsva chehurumende cheFTLRP? Izvi zvinogon kunge zvaunza kusimudzirwa kwakdii kweugaro hwvanhukadzi nevanhurume munharaunda ino yeChiredzi?

2.12 Pane matambudziko here vanhukadzi vanogona kunge vari muzvigaro izvi vari kusanganika nawo uye zvingaitwa kugadzirisa matambudziko aya?

2.13 Mumatare emuno mumusha anechekuita nkugadzirisa nyaya dzeminda varimo vakamira zvakadii maererano neuwandu hwevanhukadzi nevanhurme varimo mumateare aya? Ndezvipi zvigaro zvine vakadzi nezvkabatwa nevarume? Kumirirwa kwezvichemo zvevnhukadzi nnevanhurume kwakamirawo zvakadii mumatare aya?

RQ 3: Kudzivirirwa kweimba nemhuri kuurombo nekushaiwa

3.1Sevanhukadzi vakawana minda kuburikidza nechirongwa chehurumende chekugohwa minda patsva kuwana minda kwenyu kurikubatsira zvakadii kukuwanisai mari nguva nenguva kudzivirira dzimba nemhuri dzenyu kukushaiwa neurombo? Izvi zvasimudzira zvakadii ugaro hewdzimba pamwe nemhuri dzenyu?

3.2 Sevanhukadzi vakwana minda muchirongwa chehurumende chekugohwa minda patsva kuwana kwenyu minda kukubatsirai zvakadii kuwana ramungati basa kwamuri, mhuri nevamwewo vanhu? Izvi zvasimudzira zvakadii ugaro hwedzimba pamwe nemhuri dzenyu?

3.3 Pakuona kuti mhuri dzenyu dzine kudya kunokwana rose chirongwa chehurumende chekugohwa minda patsva chakubatsirai zvakadii kudzivirira mhuri dzenyu kubva kunzara? Ndezvipi zvamunoita kuona kuti mhuri dzenyu dzine kudya kunokwana mukati megore rose? Izvi zviri kusimudzira zvakadii ugaro hewdzimba pamwe chete nemhuri dzenyu?

3.4 Zvichitevera kuwana kwenyu minda mchirongwa cheFTLRP mhuri dzenyu dziri kukwanisa kuwana nguva dzekudya ngani pazuva nezvinodyiwa panguva imwe neimwe? Pane musiyano here ungavepo mukati megorenematambudziko muri kusangana naow mukati megore?

3.5 Tingati chirongwa chekupiwa kweminda nehurumende chakubatsirai zvakadii sevanhukadzi zvichienzaniswa nevanhurume nemhuri dzenyu kuwana pekugara, mari dzekuzvirapisa nezvimwe kuti muve neugaro huri nan?

3.6 Chirongwa chekugohwa patsva kweminda chinogona chakaubatsirai zvakadii kuve makagadzirira kana kuzvidzivirira kuurwere, rufu, kuremara kana kukwegura? Izvi zvingava zviri kusimudzira zvakadii ugaro hwenyu hwedzimba nemhuri dzenyu?

5.7 Pana zvose tingati chirongwa chFTLRP chasimudzira zvakadii mararamiro emhuri dzenyu nekudzivirwa kubva kukushaiwa?

RQ 4: : Kushandurwa kwemhindiko dzekukudza nekuraramisa mhuri

4.1 Sevarimi wakawana minda chirongwa chekupiwa minda patsva chakuwanisai zvakadii nzvimbo yekuita mhindu dzekukuraramisa mhuri pamwe chete nedzimba dzenyu? Izvi zvasimudzira zvakadii ugaro hwedzimba pamwe nemhuri dzenyu?

4.2 Ndedzipi mhindiko itsva chrinogwa cheFTLRP chakakupai nekuwana kwenyu minda sevanhukadzi zvichienzaniswa nevanhurume kuita mugone kuendesa vana kuzvikoro, kuwana kudya, kupfeka nezvose zvingadiwa kukudza mhuri? Izvi zviri kukubatsira sei paugaro hwedzimba nemhuri dzenyu?

4.3 Ndezvipi zvimwe zvekutengesa zvamuri kugona kunge muri kuita nekuda kwechirongwa cheFTLRP kuwedzera pamhindiko dzenyu dzekurima. Zviri kubatirao zvakadii kusimudzira ugaro hwenyu sevarimi vaechikadzi/vechrume munharaunda ino yeChiredzi?

4.4Pamusoro pekubatanidza basa rekurima, mabasa ekurera nepamba nekuwanawo nguva yekuzvitarisawo pachako mungatsanangura kutii pamusoro pekuwanikwa kwenguva yechimwe nechimwe chazvo izvi? Zvinogona kunge zviri kukushaisai nguva sei yekutarisawo pamwe nekuzorora? Ndezvipi zvamunofunga zvingaitwa kugadzirisa kuwanikwa kwenguva iyi?

4.5 Mungatsanangura kutii pamusoro pekuwanikwa kwenzvimbo dzevana dzakaita semakirechi, zvikoro zveprimary nesecondary pamwe nemakiriniki kana zvipatara? Izvi zvingava zviri kupingaidza sei ugaro hwenyu kuno sevrimi? Ndezvipi muri kuita kugadzirisa matambudziko aya?

4.6 Sevanhukadzi nevanhurume vakawana minda mugere kuno mune here mapoka emadzimai/anababa amakavamba anoona nezvenodia nana mai kana vana baba? Mapoka aya ari kukubatsira zvakadii paugaro hwenyu, dzimba pamwe nemhuri dzenyu?

Pane zvimwe zvatisina kutaura here zvamungada kukurukura neni here?

NDINOKUTENDAI NENGUVA YAMANDIPA KUTAURA NEMI PAMWE NERUBATSIRO RWENYU.

Magumo

Key informant interview guide

Agricultural Extension Services (AREX)

Introduction:
Welcome, provide overview of next I hr 30 minutes
This interview guide will be used together with the informed consent form herewith attached.

After this introduction ask participant if (s)he may have questions for clarification.

The discussion will take a rolling and flexible approach ensuring that some of the issues which will arise but not necessarily in this schedule will be given attention

1. Following access to land via the FTLRP what sources of capital are available to female and land beneficiaries to enhance their productive capacities? How would you describe access to credit by female land beneficiaries in relation to male land beneficiaries?

2. What do you attribute this to and what can be the possible solutions to this?

3. What are some of the constraints female land beneficiaries are facing in relation to male land beneficiaries to access capital? What are possible solutions to the challenges? To what extent has access to capital constrained productive capacities of female in relation to male land beneficiaries?

4. What training and skills development programmes have your dept/organisation conduct to female and male land beneficiaries to enhance their productive capacities?

5. Can you explain access to farmer training and skills development by female land beneficiaries in relation to male land beneficiaries conducted by your organisation/department? To what extent has this enhanced the productive capacities of female and male farmers?

6. How frequently do you conduct training sessions for farmers and your maximum contact time with an individual farmer? In terms of numbers do have adequate time to visit each and every farmer on their plots? How have you been managing and likely effect on farmer productive? What do you suggest as possible solutions?

7. What are the constraints that female farmers are encountering in relation to male farmers in accessing some of these farmer training and skills developments either in terms of time, place or workshop fees? How have you dealt with the challenges?

8. What other skills training and extension institutions are available to providing services to female and male farmers to enhance their productive capacities?

9. In what ways have your dept/organisation assisted female farmers in relation to male farmers acquire farm implements and modern technologies to enhance their productive capacities? What challenges are encountering in this regard and possible solutions?

10. In what ways have your dept/organisation assisted female farmers in relation to male farmers to gain access to

(i) Basic infrastructure such as irrigation

(ii) Access to inputs such as fertilisers, seed

(iii) Better pest control to enhance their productive capacities contributing to enhance their productive capacities

11. How would you describe the level of government support to farmers to enhance their productive capacities for better lives and wellbeing for their households?

12. How would you describe access to inputs which households by female land beneficiaries in relation to male land beneficiaries? What are the possible reasons for this? To what extent might that affect their productive capacities? How have you been assisting the disadvantaged households to access farming inputs?

13. How have your department/organisation been facilitating engagement of female land beneficiaries in relation to male land beneficiaries in expanded petty commodity production including access to proper markets? To what extent has this enhanced their productive capacities? To what extent has this contributed to better lives, living conditions and wellbeing for female as well as male-headed households?

14. In terms of farmer support how are beneficiaries selected? Are secondary beneficiaries entitled to farmer support in their own right? To what extent is it likely to affect secondary beneficiaries and their welfare?

15. How would you describe productive capacities of female land beneficiaries in relation to male land beneficiaries? Which ones seem to doing better than the other? How would you explain the difference and possible solutions to the problems to enhance their productive capacities?

16. In terms of investment on-farm and purchasing of farming equipment how would you describe female land beneficiaries in relation to male land beneficiaries? Which group is

doing better than the other? How would you explain the difference and to what extent might the tenure system be contributing to these constraints? How is that affecting the wellbeing for their households?

17. In terms of household protection from socio-economic vulnerabilities how would you describe female-headed households in relation to male-headed households in terms of food security? Which households' female or male-headed are more food secure and what are the possible reasons?

18. What other social reproduction strategies might the FTLRP open up for female-headed households in relation to male-headed households? To what extent are they contributing to better lives, living conditions and wellbeing for these female and male-headed households?

19. In general how would you describe the trends over the years in terms of production, the years farmers did well and the worst years and possible reason for the fluctuations? To what extent has that affected the wellbeing for the farmers?

20. Overall, to what extent has the FTLRP transformed the standards of living of female in relation to male-headed households in the newly resettled areas of Chiredzi?

Is there anything that we have not covered that you would like to discuss with me?

THANK YOU FOR YOUR TIME. I REALLY APPRECIATE YOUR ASSISTANCE IN GRANTING ME THIS INTERVIEW.

END

Key informant interview guide

Farmer Organisation/ Company Management

Introduction:
Welcome, provide overview of next I hr 30 minutes
This interview guide will be used together with the informed consent form herewith attached.

After this introduction ask participant if (s) he may have questions for clarification.

The discussion will take a rolling and flexible approach ensuring that some of the issues which will arise but not necessarily in this schedule will be given attention

1. Following access to land via the FTLRP what sources of capital are available to female and male land beneficiaries to enhance their productive capacities? How would you describe access to credit by female land beneficiaries in relation to male land beneficiaries?

2. How would you explain the differences?

3. What are some of the constraints female land beneficiaries are encountering in relation to male land beneficiaries to access these sources of capital? What are possible solutions to the challenges? To what extent has access to capital constrained productive capacities of female in relation to male land beneficiaries?

4. What training and skills development programmes have your dept/organisation conduct to female and male land beneficiaries to enhance their productive capacities?

5. Can you explain access to training and skills development by female land beneficiaries in relation to male land beneficiaries conducted by your organisation? To what extent has this enhanced the productive capacities of female land beneficiaries in relation to male land beneficiaries?

6. In what ways have your dept/organisation assisted female land beneficiaries in relation to male land beneficiaries acquire farm implements and modern technologies to enhance their productive capacities? What challenges are encountering in this regard and possible solutions?

7. In what ways have your dept/organisation assisted female farmers in relation to male farmers to gain access to

(i) Basic infrastructure such as irrigation

(ii) Access to inputs such as fertilisers, seed

(iii) Better pest control to enhance their productive capacities contributing to better lives, living conditions and wellbeing for their households

8. In what ways have your dept/organisation facilitated engagement female farmers in relation to male farmers in expanded petty commodity production including access to proper markets? To what extent has this enhanced their productive capacities? To what extent has this contributed to better lives, living conditions and wellbeing for female in relation to male-headed households?

9. In general how would you describe the trends over the years in terms of production the years farmers did well and the worst years and possible reason for the fluctuations? To what extent has that affected welfare outcomes for the farmers?

10.Of total sugarcane requirement in your sugar production what per centage is the output from the newly resettled farmer's contributing? What are the numbers of female out-growers in relation to male out-growers in your organisation? To what extent are they an integral part of the whole value chain in the production of sugar? How has this contributed to better lives, living conditions and wellbeing for female and male farmers?

11. Do newly resettled farmers have an equity stake in the sugar producing company? How are relationships between the company and the out-growers coordinated? How critical does the do the company perceives their role in its survival? To what extent has this contributed to better lives, living conditions and wellbeing of the lad beneficiaries?

12. To what extent do the female and male sugarcane out-growers participate in the management of the sugarcane company such as negotiating for prices at which the company purchases sugarcane among other decisions? To what extent has this contributed to enhanced living conditions and wellbeing for female and male out-grower households?

13. What is the average buying price of sugarcane from the out-growers? What are average outputs per farmer? Annually what can be total sales per farmer on average? How would you describe the output by female out-growers in relation to male out-growers? What are possible explanations to this?

14. How does the company make payment on sugar deliveries made by out-growers? Does the company provide transportation? What other costs does the company incur which it deduct on deliveries made by out-growers? To what extent has this contributed better living conditions and wellbeing of female and male out-grower households?

15. What is the extent of risk sharing between the sugarcane out-growers and the company in terms of production, marketing and other risks? To what extent has this contributed productivity and protection of the sugarcane out-growers?

16. Overall, to what extent has the FTLRP transformed the standards of living of female in relation to male-headed household in newly resettled areas of Chiredzi?

Is there anything that we have not covered that you would like to discuss with me?

THANK YOU FOR YOUR TIME. I REALLY APPRECIATE YOUR ASSISTANCE IN GRANTING ME THIS INTERVIEW.

Key informant interview guide

District Administrator/Gender Activist Organisation

Introduction:
Welcome, provide overview of next 1hr 30 minutes
This interview guide will be used together with the informed consent form herewith attached.

After this introduction ask participant if (s) he may have questions for clarification.

1. To what extent has the FTLRP promoted equal rights to independent land allocation to women and men in Chiredzi?

2. What have been the resultant improvements in the lives, living conditions and wellbeing for female in relation to male-headed households in your district?

3. To what extent are the protections of land rights of female in relation to male land beneficiaries secure against displacement, evictions or threats of eviction?

4. How ha this contributed to investment on land, increased productivity and better household wellbeing and living conditions?

5. Can you explain spousal consent clauses pertaining to co-ownership and transfer of primary household property such as land in A1 permits agreement and A2 lease agreement?

6. To what extent has this contributed to better lives, living conditions and wellbeing for women in relation to men in Chiredzi?

7. To what extent does the A1 permit agreement and the A2 leases agreement provide for the protection of widows to remain on household land and be first in line to inherit land with and without children?

8. To what extent have these contributed to better lives, living conditions and wellbeing of the surviving spouse and children?

9. For equitable land rights, in the event of divorce and polygamous families how does the A1 permit agreement and A2 lease hold agreement provide for divorcee to retain a share of land after settlement of the divorce?

10. How have you promoted equal female and male representation in land courts, tribunal and dispute resolution bodies to ensure that the interests of women in relation to men are equally represented in these bodies?

11. To what extent has this promoted and ensured better lives, living conditions and wellbeing of women in relation to men in Chiredzi District?

12. To what extent have productive capacities of women in relation to men been enhanced following the FTLRP in Chiredzi? To what extent have it contributed to better lives, living conditions and wellbeing of female-headed households in relation to male-headed households in newly resettled area of Chiredzi?

13. What are some of the challenges that the new farmers face and what are the possible solutions to overcome them so as to enhance their productive capacities?

14. What are some of the norms and rules disadvantaging women in favour of men that have been transformed following the FTLRP? To what extent has this contributed to better lives, living conditions and wellbeing of women in re relation to men in Chiredzi?

15. To what extent has protection of households from socio-economic vulnerabilities of female land beneficiaries in relation to male land beneficiaries from socio-economic vulnerabilities been enhanced following access to land by women and men in Chiredzi?

16. To what extent has household social reproduction strategies of female land beneficiaries in relation to male land beneficiaries been transformed with increased access to land by both women and men in Chiredzi?

17. Overall, to what extent have standards of living been raised following access to land by ordinary men and women via the FTLRP?

Is there anything that we have not covered that you would like to discuss with me?

THANK YOU FOR YOUR TIME. I REALLY APPRECIATE YOUR ASSISTANCE IN GRANTING ME THIS INTERVIEW.

END

Key informant interview Guide Traditional Leadership

Traditional leadership

Introduction:
Welcome, provide overview of next 1hr 30 minutes
This interview guide will be used together with the informed consent form herewith attached.

After this introduction ask participant if (s) he may have questions for clarification.

1. In your opinion to what extent has the FTLRP transformed the underlying rules and norms governing access, ownership, transfer and inheritance of land between women and men in Chiredzi?

2. To what extent has this transformed power relations within households and contributed to better welfare outcomes for both women and men in the newly resettled areas?

3. To what extent has the social relations regarding social labour and the rights over its product between women and men been transformed following individual access of land for both women and men within your area of jurisdiction?

4. In your opinion, how has the granting of individual usufructuary rights through registration of women and men as beneficiaries of FTLRP transformed the' lineage male' mode of social relations of production?

6. In your area how common are harvest related conflicts between husbands and wives which may culminate in harvest related suicides? How have you been dealing with them?

5. To what extent has access to land by both women and men enhanced the lives, living conditions and wellbeing of women and men in newly resettled areas of Chiredzi?

6. Within your area of jurisdiction, to what extent has the social institution, whereby women and men still have separate fields, livestock, granaries classified as the 'preserve' of the husband or wife only, been transformed following the FTLRP?

7. What have been the effects on the lives and wellbeing of women in relation to men in Chiredzi?

8. What other socialpositions usually occupied such as headmen ship, have been are now occupied by women following the FTLRP? T what extent has this enhanced the lives, living conditions and wellbeing of women in relation to men? Are there any particular challenges women occupying such social positions are encountering in relation to men?

9. To what extent has the FTLRP enhanced productive capacities of female land beneficiaries in relation to male land beneficiaries have been transformed following the FTLRP here in

Chiredzi. To what extent has this enhanced the wellbeing of female in relation to male households in your area?

10. To what extent has access to land enhanced household protection from socio-economic vulnerabilities of female-headed households in relation to male-headed households and better lives, living conditions and wellbeing for people in your area?

11. To what extent has access to land by both women and men enhanced the social reproduction strategies and welfare outcomes of household in newly resettled areas of Chiredzi?

12. Overall, to what extent has the FTLRP enhanced welfare outcomes of female and male-headed households in the area under your jurisdiction?

Is there anything that we have not covered that you would like to discuss with me?

THANK YOU FOR YOUR TIME. I REALLY APPRECIATE YOUR ASSISTANCE IN GRANTING ME THIS INTERVIEW.

END

Key informant interview guide Education Officer

District Education Officer

Introduction:
Welcome, provide overview of next 1hr 30 minutes
This interview guide will be used together with the informed consent form herewith attached.

After this introduction ask participant if (s) he may have questions for clarification.

The discussion will take a rolling and flexible approach ensuring that some of the issues which will arise but not necessarily in this schedule will be given attention

1. How would you describe the provision of social services in newly resettled areas in terms of child care provision (pre-school), primary and secondary schools in terms of available numbers, expected numbers and deficits?

2. How would you describe the levels of enrolment in pre-school, primary and secondary schools in FTLRP newly resettled areas against census figures of school going age population in these areas?

3. What are approximate distances to the nearest pre-school, primary school, secondary school in FTLRP newly resettled areas against expected distances from one pre-school, primary school and secondary school to the next?

4. How would you describe the level of social investment by government and other players in newly resettled areas?

5. What are the challenges being faced in the provision of social services in newly resettled areas of Chiredzi?

6. To what extent has may this be a constraint to enable parents particularly women and other caregivers to engage full-time in their farming activities so as to enhance their lives and living conditions and wellbeing of their households?

7. What measures is your department putting in place to ensure access to social services in all newly resettled areas to enable parents and other care givers to participate full-time in their economic activities?

8. In terms of quality of service how would you describe the level of service provision in newly resettled areas with regard to the following criteria?

(i) Availability of qualified teachers

(ii) Availability of teaching materials and textbooks

(iii) Availability of adequate classrooms

(iv) Availability of furniture

9. To what extent has it affected welfare outcomes of female and male-headed households in newly resettled areas of Chiredzi?

10. How have been the communities in these newly resettled areas responded to these challenges and what kind of support has your department and other organisations rendered to the communities.

Is there anything that we have not covered that you would like to discuss with me?

THANK YOU FOR YOUR TIME. I REALLY APPRECIATE YOUR ASSISTANCE IN GRANTING ME THIS INTERVIEW.

END

INFORMED CONSENT FORM FOR THE IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS and KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEWS

Name of Researcher: Tekwa Newman (Doctoral Student, UNISA)

Topic: Gender, Land Reform and Welfare Outcomes

1. Introduction

My name is Tekwa Newman. I am a doctoral student under the South African Research Chair (SARChI) in Social Policy (UNISA). I am presently carrying out research on the topic: Gender, Land Reform and Welfare Outcomes: The Case of Chiredzi, Zimbabwe as part of the doctoral studies in collaboration with the African Institute for Agrarian Studies (AIAS) in Harare. I would be most obliged if you could be involved in this research either as participant in an interview or by giving me access to official documents in your organisation, or both.

2. Objective

The objective of this research is to analyse enhancement of productive capacities, transformation of gendered social institutions and social relation of production, protection of households from socio-economic vulnerabilities as well as the enhancement of social reproduction strategies and enhancement of welfare outcome of female and male-headed households following the fast track land reform in Chiredzi District of Zimbabwe.

3. Procedures

The data collection instruments are developed: (1) in-depth interview for female and male land beneficiaries (2) focus group discussions for female and male land beneficiaries and (3) key informant interviews for key stakeholders. If you agree to participate, you will be asked to participate in an in-depth interview on the impact of the land reform program. The in-depth interview will take a rolling and flexible approach to cover four main research questions in line with the above stated objective taking approximately two hours. Key informant interviews will take at most one and half hours.

4. Risks and inconveniences

Issues in-depth interview are related to household matters, which you may be not comfortable to discuss. You are however not obliged to address questions or issues you may feel uncomfortable with. You may refuse to answer or stop answering a question at any time during the interview session. You can withdraw any documents given to the researcher at any time.. If you want, you could talk privately to the researcher about how you are feeling.

5. Compensation and benefits

Unfortunately there would be no financial or other forms of compensation either for participation in the interview sessions or for enabling the researcher to have access to documents. You may however derive some (moral) satisfaction for sharing your experiences and views about the Fast Track Land Reform Programme. Also, the findings of the research may be useful to improve the welfare outcomes of female and male land beneficiaries in Chiredzi District and the whole country at large.

6. Confidentiality

The confidentiality of all of your responses to the questionnaire and for the interview including your name is guaranteed. Your identity would not be divulged to a third-party and views expressed by participants would be referred to or reported anonymously in the study. Your name would however be recorded on a separate list for follow-up purposes within the framework of this research. This list will be preserved in a format and medium accessible only to the researcher. The researcher would readily give you further clarifications about the research project if you do so require.

7. Right of withdrawal

You have the right to withdraw from being included in the survey or an interview session at any moment you deem necessary.

8. Informed consent

I hereby declare that I have read or the content of this form has been read to me in its entirety and in my own language and/or a language I understand very well. I have received all necessary clarifications and answers to my questions. I agree to participate in the study.

9. Concerns or Feedback

Should you have any concern about this study or wish to provide a feedback, please feel free to contact my mentor/co-investigator or me:

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Signature of interviewee_____ **Age** ____

Signature of researcher _____ Date_____

Tekwa Newman
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Archie Mafeje Research Institute, College of Graduate Studies

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FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION INFORMED CONSENT FORM

Study Topic: Gender, Land Reform and Welfare Outcomes: The Case Study of Chiredzi District, Zimbabwe

Beneficiaries of the Fast Track Land Reform Programme in Chiredzi District

Purpose of the study: You are being asked to participate in a research study. We are analysing enhancement of productive capacities, transformation of gendered social institutions and social relation of production, protection of households from socio-economic vulnerabilities as well as the enhancement of social reproduction strategies and enhancement of welfare outcome of female and male-headed households following the fast track land reform in Chiredzi District of Zimbabwe. This research is being done by Tekwa Newman as part of his doctoral studies in collaboration with the African Institute for Agrarian Studies and financial support from the SARChI Chair in Social Policy at the University of South Africa (UNISA).

Procedures: If you agree to participate, you will be asked to participate in a focus group discussion with other members of your community to discuss the transformations brought about the Fast Track Land Reform Programme. The focus group discussion will take a rolling and flexible to cover four research questions in line with the purpose outlined above. The discussion will take approximately two hours.

Discomforts and risks: It is possible that some of the questions may make you feel uncomfortable or cause you to think about things that are upsetting. You do not have to answer any question that makes you uncomfortable. You can choose to stop responding to a given question or end to be part of the research at any time. If you want, you could talk privately to the researcher about how you are feeling.

Compensation and benefits: You will not be paid or compensated for participating in the focus group discussion. However, you may enjoy the experience of reflecting together with your community members on how the land reform has enhanced welfare outcomes of women and men in Chiredzi and how you could improve from where we are.

Confidentiality: If you decide to participate, the interviewer will write down and record your answers in the initial interview. Records will not have your name on it. We record your name on a separate list. This record will be kept in a locked place, accessible only to the researcher. No one else will be given your name or told that you participated in the study. Views of research participants may appear in a report on this research but will not be linked to individuals. Also, the content of the discussions should end with the discussion. What would have been discussed should not be discussed after the focus group discussion.

If you have a question or problem with the research, you can stop and ask your question to the researcher.

Right to withdraw: It is your decision whether or not to participate in this study. You may refuse to participate and can end the interview at any time if you wish. You will not be penalized in any way for this decision.

Informed consent: I have been read or read to myself this entire form in my own language or language I understand. All of my questions have been answered. I agree to participate in the study.

Concerns or Feedback

Should you have any concern about this study or wish to provide a feedback, please feel free to contact my mentor/co-investigator or me:

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Signature of interviewee_____Age ____

Signature of researcher _____ Date__ _____

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Informed Consent Forms (translated into local language-Shona)

BEPA REKUBVUMA KUPINDA MUHURUKURO NEKUZVIZIVISA KUVANHU

Zita reMutsvakurudzi: Tekwa Newman (Doctoral Student, UNISA)

Topic: Gender, Land Reform and Welfare Outcomes

1. Nhungamizo

Zita rangu ndinonzi Tekwa Newman.Ndiri mudzidzi wezvidzidzo zvepamussoro paAfrican Research Chair (SARChI) in Social Policy (UNISA).Ndiri kuita tsvakurudzo pamusoro unoti: Gender, Land Reform and Welfare Outcomes: The Case of Chiredzi, Zimbabwe sechidimbu chezvidzidzo zvandiri kuita pamwe ne African Institute for Agrarian Studies (AIAS) iri muHarare. Ndingatenda zvikuru mukagona kuvawo vevamwe vandiri kuda kubvunza kana kundiwanisawo mukana wekuona zvimwe zvinyorwa zvamuinazvo zvine chekuita nemusoro wandiri kuongorora.

2. Zvinanangwa

Chinangwa chetsvakurudzo ino kuongorora kuti chiongwa chehurumende chekugohwa minda patsva cha2000 chasimudzira zvakadii kurima kwevanhu, chakashandura zvakadii kugara nekuenzaniswa wemikana pakati pevanhukadzi nevanhurume pamwe nesimudzira mhindiko pakati pevanhukadzi zvichienzaniswa neanvhurume munzvimbo ino yeChiredzi.

3. Zvichaitwa

Nzira dzichashandiswa kuita tsvakurudzo: (1) Bvunzurudzo yevanhukadzi nevanhurume vakawana minda muchiringwa chehurumende chekugohwa minda patsva cha2000 (2) bvunzurudzo yevanhukadzi pamwe nevanhurume vari muzviboka zvakasiyana (3) Bvunzurudzo yevane ruzivo rwakawanda pane zviri kutsvakwa pamwe nevane zvigaro muhurumende pamwe nemunharaunda.Kana matenda kuva nechekuita mutsvakurudzo iyi munokumbirwa kupinda muhurukuro iri pamusoro pechirongwa chekugohwa patsva kweminda cha2000.Hurukuro iyi ichange ichitungamirirwa nemibvunzo yakanangana nezvinangwa zvina zvarehwa pamusoro apo, hurukuro iyi inotarisirw kutora nguva ingaita maAwa mairi.Hurukuro yevane ruziva rwakawanda pamusoro penhaurwa inotora nguva ingaita Awa imwe nechidimbu.

4. Njodzi kana zvipingaidzo zvingavepo

Zvimwe zvatichakurukura zvine chekuita nemagariro enyu mumba zvamunogona kunge musina kusunguka kutaura pamusoro pazvo.Hamusungirwi kupidura mibvunzo yamunonzwa

musina kusununguka kupindura.Mnuogona kuramba kupindura mimwe mibvunzo kana kumira kupindura mibvunzo chero nguva ipi zvayo patinenge tichikurukura.Munotenderwa kutora chero zvinyorwa zvipi zvamunenge mapa Mutsvakurudzi kana muchinge manwzwa sekudaro.Mkasunguka zvakare kutaurira mutsvakurudzi parutivi kana pane zvamuri kunzwa.

5. Muripo kana zvimwe zvingawanikwa nekupinda mutsvakurudzo iyi

Ndine urombo kuti hapana muripo kana kubhadharwa kungava kumutowo upi neupi ungawanike nekupinda mutsvukurudzo ino kana kuwanisa Mutsvakurudzi zvimwe zvezvinyorwa zvingawanikwa muOrganisation yenyu. Mungawana henyu rufaro uye kugutsikana nekubatsira kwamunenge maita nekukurukura zvamuri kusangana nazvo uye maonero enyu pamusoro pechironga ichi chekugohwa kweminda patsva.Zvichawanikwa kubva mutsvakurudzo ino zvichabatsira kuona kuti ugaro neupenyu hwevari kuminda hungawandudwza sei muno munzvimbo yeChiredzi uye Zimbabwe yese.

6. Kuchengetedzwa nekuvanzika kwezvawanikwa mutsvakurudzo

Kuvanzika kwemhinduro dzenyu muhurukuro ino pamwe nezita renyu zvakachengetedzwa zvikuru.Zita renyu kana zvamataura hazvishambadzwi kuna ani naani zvake uye pfunwa nemafungiro enyu amuchapa aazofi akazivikanwa kuti ndedzanhingi uye hapana mazita anoshmbadzwa. Zta renyu ringagone kutorwa nekunorwa pane rimwe bepa kuitira chete kana paine zvingagona zvasaririra zvingada kuzadzikiswa zvakanangana netsvakurudzo ino chete. Hurukuro dzose nezvimwe zvose zvichachengetedzwa zvisina ani naani anogona kuzvshandisa kunze kweMutsvakurudzi chete.Mutsvakurudzi anosungirwa kukupai tsanangura pane zvose zvamungda kuziva ameerearano netsvakurudzo ino.

7. Mvumo yekubuda muHurukuro

Makasunguka kubuda muhurukuro ino chero pamunenge manzwa kuti hamuchakwanisi kuenderera mberi.

8. Kubvuma kupinda muahurukuro muin ruzivo rwakakwana

Ndinobvuma kuti ndaverenga zviri mugwaro rino kana uti zvaverengwa ndichinzwa mururimi rwangu. Ndapiwa tsananguro dzose pamusoro pemibvinzo yangu.Ndinotenda kupinda muhurukuro yetsvakurudzo iyi.

9. Zvamungada kuziva kana zzvingabva mutsvakurudzo ino

Kana paine zvamungada kuziva kana kupa pfungwa dzenyu pashure sunungukai kubata mutungamiriri wangu anova zvakare ari mutsvakurudzo ino muchishandisa kero, foni kana tsambamhepo dzinotevera.

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Runyoro rweMupinduri_____**Zera rekuberekwa** ____

Runyoro rwemutsvakurudzi_____ Zuva_____

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Annexure K

BEPA REKUBVUMA KUPINDA MUHURUKURO YEMAPOKA

Study Topic: Gender, Land Reform and Welfare Outcomes: The Case Study of Chiredzi District, Zimbabwe

Hurukuro nevakawana minda muvhiringwa chekugohwa patsva kwminda muChiredzi

1. Zvinanangwa

Chinangwa chetsvakurudzo ino kuongorora kuti chiongwa chehurumende chekugohwa minda patsva cha2000 chasimudzira zvakadii kurima kwevanhu, chakashandura zvakadii kugara nekuenzaniswa wemikana pakati pevanhukadzi nevanhurume pamwe nesimudzira mhindiko pakati pevanhukadzi zvichienzaniswa neanvhurume munzvimbo ino yeChiredzi.

2. Zvichaitwa

Kana matenda kuva nechekuita mutsvakurudzo iyi munokumbirwa kupinda muhurukuro iri pamusoro pechirongwa chekugohwa patsva kweminda cha2000.Hurukuro iyi ichange ichitungamirirwa nemibvunzo yakanangana nezvinangwa zvina zvarehwa pamusoro apo, hurukuro iyi inotarisirwa kutora nguva ingaita maAwa mairi. Hurukuro yevane ruziva rwakawanda pamusoro penhaurwa inotora nguva ingaita Awa imwe nechidimbu.

3. Njodzi kana zvipingaidzo zvingavepo

Zvimwe zvatichakurukura zvine chekuita nemagariro enyu mumba zvamunogona kunge musina kusunguka kutaura pamusoro pazvo. Hamusungirwi kupidura mibvunzo

yamunonzwa musina kusununguka kupindura.Mnuogona kuramba kupindura mimwe mibvunzo kana kumira kupindura mibvunzo chero nguva ipi zvayo patinenge tichikurukura.Munotenderwa kutora chero zvinyorwa zvipi zvamunenge mapa Mutsvakurudzi kana muchinge manwzwa sekudaro.Mkasunguka zvakare kutaurira mutsvakurudzi parutivi kana pane zvamuri kunzwa.

4. Muripo kana zvimwe zvingawanikwa nekupinda mutsvakurudzo iyi

Ndine urombo kuti hapana muripo kana kubhadharwa kungava kumutowo upi neupi ungawanike nekupinda mutsvukurudzo ino kana kuwanisa Mutsvakurudzi zvimwe zvezvinyorwa zvingawanikwa muOrganisation yenyu. Mungawana henyu rufaro uye kugutsikana nekubatsira kwamunenge maita nekukurukura zvamuri kusangana nazvo uye maonero enyu pamusoro pechironga ichi chekugohwa kweminda patsva.Zvichawanikwa kubva mutsvakurudzo ino zvichabatsira kuona kuti ugaro neupenyu hwevari kuminda hungawandudwza sei muno munzvimbo yeChiredzi uye Zimbabwe yese.

5. Kuchengetedzwa nekuvanzika kwezvawanikwa mutsvakurudzo

Kuvanzika kwemhinduro dzenyu muhurukuro ino pamwe nezita renyu zvakachengetedzwa zvikuru.Zita renyu kana zvamataura hazvishambadzwi kuna ani naani zvake uye pfunwa nemafungiro enyu amuchapa aazofi akazivikanwa kuti ndedzanhingi uye hapana mazita anoshmbadzwa. Zta renyu ringagone kutorwa nekunorwa pane rimwe bepa kuitira chete kana paine zvingagona zvasaririra zvingada kuzadzikiswa zvakanangana netsvakurudzo ino chete. Hurukuro dzose nezvimwe zvose zvichachengetedzwa zvisina ani naani anogona kuzvshandisa kunze kweMutsvakurudzi chete.Mutsvakurudzi anosungirwa kukupai tsanangura pane zvose zvamungda kuziva ameerearano netsvakurudzo ino.Zvichakurukurwa pano zvinoperera pano hazvifanirwi kutaurwa nezvazvo musure mekupera kwehurukuro ino.

Kana muine mubvunzo makasununguka kubvuna Mutsvakurudzi

6. Mvumo yekubuda muHurukuro

Makasunguka kubuda muhurukuro ino chero pamunenge manzwa kuti hamuchakwanisi kuenderera mberi.

7. Kubvuma kupinda muahurukuro muin ruzivo rwakakwana

Ndinobvuma kuti ndaverenga zviri mugwaro rino kana uti zvaverengwa ndichinzwa mururimi rwangu.Ndapiwa tsananguro dzose pamusoro pemibvinzo yangu.Ndinotenda kupinda muhurukuro yetsvakurudzo iyi.

8. Zvamungada kuziva kana zzvingabva mutsvakurudzo ino

Kana paine zvamungada kuziva kana kupa pfungwa dzenyu pashure sunungukai kubata mutungamiriri wangu anova zvakare ari mutsvakurudzo ino muchishandisa kero, foni kana tsambamhepo dzinotevera.

Tekwa Newman
College of Graduate Studies,
University of South Africa,
Pretoria, South Africa.
Tel: +27 73504 0445
E-mail: tekwanewman@gmail.com

Professor Jimi O. Adesina
College of Graduate Studies,
University of South Africa,
Pretoria, South Africa.
Tel: +27 12 337 6114
E-mail: adesij@unisa.ac.za

Runyoro rweMupinduri_____Makore ekuzvarwa____

Runyoro rweMutsvakurudzi_____ Zuva_____

Tekwa Newman
SARChI Chair in Social Policy
Archie Mafeje Research Institute, College of Graduate Studies
University of South Africa, Pretoria, South Africa.
Tel: +27 73 504 0445.
E-mail: tekwanewman@gmail.com

Appendices B: Gatekeepers Letters

Letter of Permission Ministry of Lands and Agriculture

All correspondence should be addressed to

"THE SECRETARY"
TELEPHONE:
701310/797325-30

FAX: 792936

ZIMBABWE

REF:
MINISTRY OF LANDS AND RURAL RESETTLEMENT
Block 2, Makombe Building
Private Bag 7779
Causeway
Harare

Ref: L/195 | 48

8 March 2016

Mr. Newman Tekwa
House Number 13925
Unit O Seke
Chitungwiza

Dear Mr. N Tekwa

RE: REQUEST FOR AUTHORITY TO CONDUCT RESEARCH.

I acknowledge receipt of your letter dated 1 February 2016 in which you are requesting for authority to conduct research in Chiredzi District on the topic "Gender, Land Reform and Welfare Outcomes: A Case study of Chiredzi District in Zimbabwe."
Considering that the research is for academic purposes only and that the Ministry of Lands and Rural Resettlement and ultimately the Government of Zimbabwe will benefit from the results of the research, permission is granted to you to carry out the proposed research on condition that:

1. You avail your findings to the Ministry on conclusion of your research.
2. To avoid conflict at district level you must notify the provincial and district level key stakeholders of your programme before interacting with farmers. By copy of this minute our Provincial and District heads are notified of the proposed research.
3. The results of your research are not published in public journals without the Ministry's authority.

Wishing you the best in your endeavours.

MINISTRY OF LANDS & RURAL RESETTLEMENT
SECRETARY'S OFFICE
0 8 MAR 2016
P BAG 7779, CAUSEWAY
ZIMBABWE

Sincerely

Mutandiro

Ambassador G.T. Mutandiro
SECRETARY FOR LANDS AND RURAL RESETTLEMENT

Cc Acting Chief Lands Officer Masvingo FYI
District Land Officer Chiredzi FYI

REGISTRY
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
MIN OF SPECIAL AFFAIRS -LANDS
27 OCT 2016
BOX 66, MASVINGO
ZIMBABWE

Letter of Permission Ministry of Agriculture

All correspondence should be addressed to the Director
Department of Agricultural Technical and Extension Services
MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE, MECHANISATION AND IRRIGATION DEVELOPMENT

AGRITEX
Head office
No. 1 Borrowdale Road
Ngungunyana Building

P.O. Box CY 2505, Harare, Zimbabwe Tel: (+263) 04-794381/2

Ref: AGRI/A/25

28 September 2016

Mr Newman Tekwa
House No. 13925
Unit O Seke
Chitungwiza

DEPARTMENT OF AGRITEX HUMAN RESOURCES
06 OCT 2016
1 BORROWDALE ROAD NGUNGUNYANA BUILDING HARARE

APPLICATION FOR AURTHORITY TO CONDUCT GENDER, LAND REFORM AND WELFARE OUTCOMES: A CASE STUDY OF CHIREDZI DISTRICT IN ZIMBABWE.

Reference is made to your minute dated 1 February 2016 on the abovementioned matter.

Please note that authority has been granted to you to conduct research on 'Rethinking Social Policy: In search of inclusive development' in Agritex , Chiredzi District.

Gondo J
Principal Director, Department of Agritex

DEPT. OF AGRICULTURAL, TECHNICAL AND EXTENSION SERVICES
27 OCT 2016
PROVINCIAL OFFICE
P.O. BOX 354, MASVINGO

Letter of Permission Ministry of Social Services

Official communications should Not be addressed to individuals

Telephone: Harare 790871/77
Telegraphic Address: 'SECLAB"
Fax: 794567

ZIMBABWE

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL SERVICES
Compensation House
P Bag 7707 Causeway
Cnr Fourth Street/Central Avenue
Harare

SW 12/5

25 October, 2016

Mr N. Tekwa

RE: PERMISSION TO INTERVIEW SOCIAL SERVICES OFFICER-~~ZVIMBA~~ DISTRICT ON SOCIAL SERVICES PROVISION IN PURSUANCE OF ACADEMIC RESEARCH BY TEKWA NEWMAN ENTITLED "Gender, Land Reform and Welfare Outcomes : The Case of Chiredzi District, *Zimbabwe*

We hereby acknowledge receipt of your letter dated 25 June, 2015.

Please be advised that permission is hereby granted for you to interview the Chiredzi District Social Services Officer on social services provision and welfare outcomes in the Chiredzi community. Please note that permission is hereby granted **STRICTLY** on condition that you restrict to matters related to pursuit of your academic studies not for **PUBLICITY** purposes and that you confine yourself to questions specified in your request. You are also expected to abide by the research ethic of maintaining anonymity of identities of the respondents.

We hereby also kindly request you to share your final research findings regarding the same upon completion.

S. Soko
A/Director of Social Services
c.c-Provincial Social Services Officer-Masvingo
c.c-District Social Services Officer- Chiredzi District

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL WELFARE
REGISTRY
25 OCT 2016
P.O. BOX CY 429, CAUSEWAY
ZIMBABWE

Letter of Introduction Chiredzi District

Department of Agricultural Technical and Extension Services

AGRITEX
Box 196
Chiredzi

MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE, MECHANISATION AND IRRIGATION DEVELOPMENT
Box 196,Chiredzi, Zimbabwe Tel: (+263) 31-2556
Email: Agritexchiredzi@gmail.com

To whom It May Concern

RE:- PhD Student -Newman Tekwa Research Project

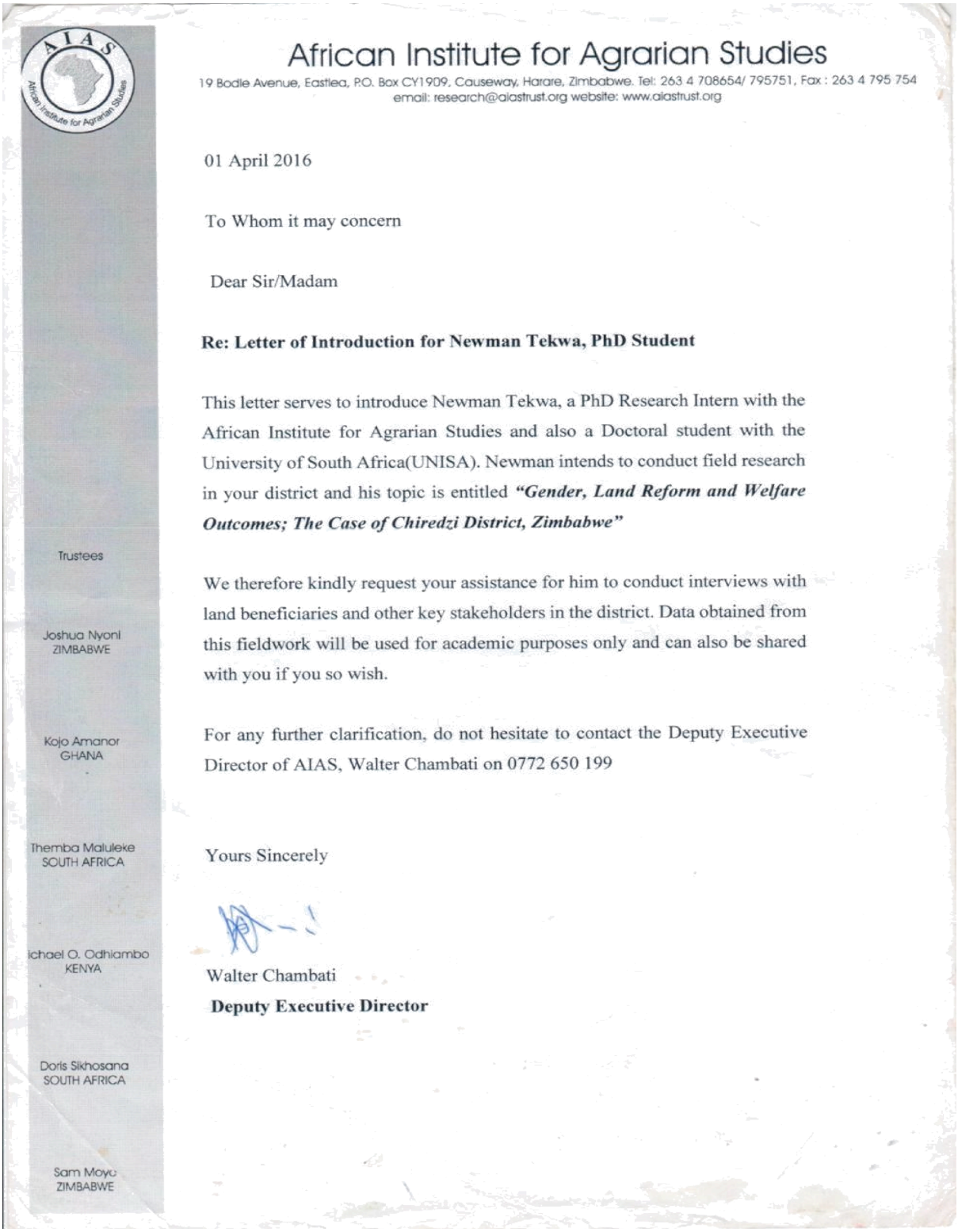
This serves to confirm that the above mentioned is a student who is attached to Agritex Chiredzi doing his PhD. He is currently doing his research project on Gender , land reform and welfare in Chiredzi district.

May you please assist him where possible

DEPT. OF AGRICULTURAL TECHNICAL AND EXTENSION SERVICES
26/05/16
CHIREDZI REGION
P.O. BOX 190 CHIREDZI

Madzikanda K.Z
Acting DAEO

Letter of Introduction Sam Moyo African Institute of Agrarian Studies



African Institute for Agrarian Studies

19 Bodle Avenue, Eastlea, P.O. Box CY1909, Causeway, Harare, Zimbabwe. Tel: 263 4 708654/ 795751, Fax : 263 4 795 754
email: research@aiastrust.org website: www.aiastrust.org

01 April 2016

To Whom it may concern

Dear Sir/Madam

Re: Letter of Introduction for Newman Tekwa, PhD Student

This letter serves to introduce Newman Tekwa, a PhD Research Intern with the African Institute for Agrarian Studies and also a Doctoral student with the University of South Africa(UNISA). Newman intends to conduct field research in your district and his topic is entitled ***"Gender, Land Reform and Welfare Outcomes; The Case of Chiredzi District, Zimbabwe"***

We therefore kindly request your assistance for him to conduct interviews with land beneficiaries and other key stakeholders in the district. Data obtained from this fieldwork will be used for academic purposes only and can also be shared with you if you so wish.

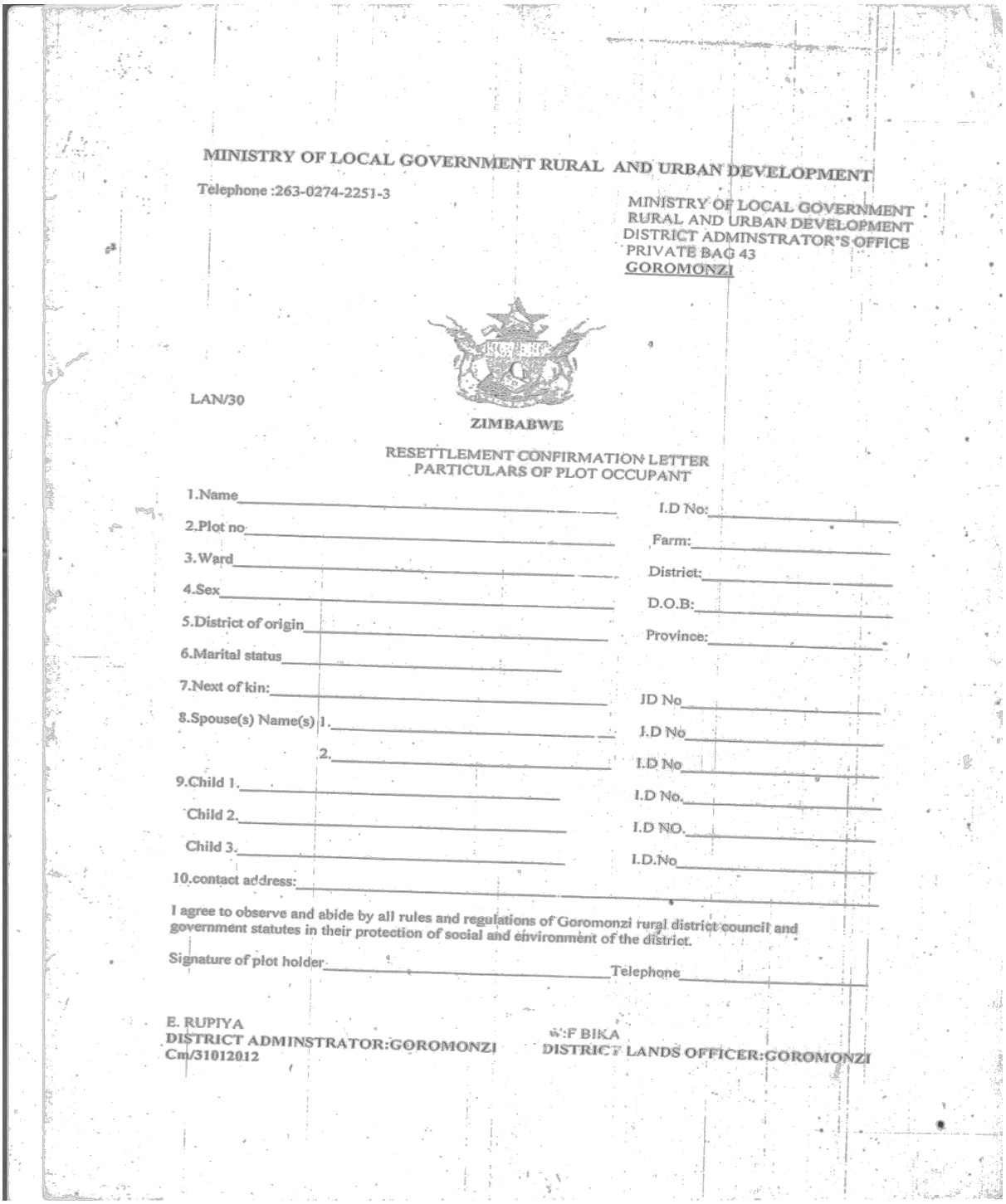
For any further clarification, do not hesitate to contact the Deputy Executive Director of AIAS, Walter Chambati on 0772 650 199

Yours Sincerely

Walter Chambati
Deputy Executive Director

Appendices C: Land Ownership Documents

A1 Permit Letter



MINISTRY OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT RURAL AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT

Telephone :263-0274-2251-3

MINISTRY OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT
RURAL AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT
DISTRICT ADMINSTRATOR'S OFFICE
PRIVATE BAG 43
GOROMONZI

LAN/30

ZIMBABWE

RESETTLEMENT CONFIRMATION LETTER
PARTICULARS OF PLOT OCCUPANT

1.Name _____ I.D No: _____

2.Plot no _____ Farm: _____

3.Ward _____ District: _____

4.Sex _____ D.O.B: _____

5.District of origin _____ Province: _____

6.Marital status _____

7.Next of kin: _____ ID No _____

8.Spouse(s) Name(s) 1. _____ I.D No _____

2. _____ I.D No _____

9.Child 1. _____ I.D No. _____

Child 2. _____ I.D NO. _____

Child 3. _____ I.D.No _____

10.contact address: _____

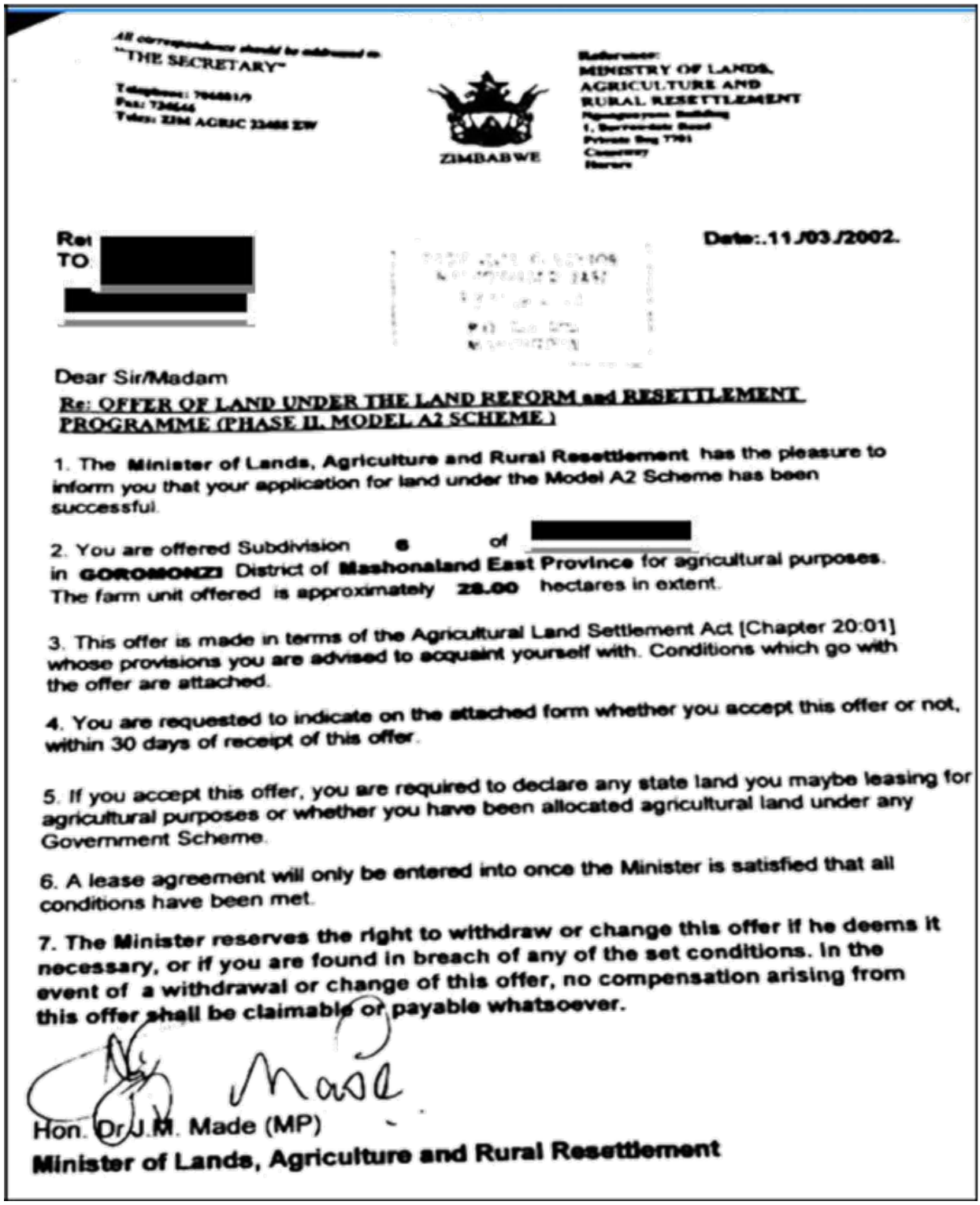
I agree to observe and abide by all rules and regulations of Goromonzi rural district council and government statutes in their protection of social and environment of the district.

Signature of plot holder _____ Telephone _____

E. RUPIYA
DISTRICT ADMINSTRATOR:GOROMONZI
Cm/31012012

F BIKA
DISTRICT LANDS OFFICER:GOROMONZI

A2 Offer Letter



All correspondence should be addressed to
"THE SECRETARY"

Telephone: 794681/9
Fax: 734644
Telex: ZIM AGRIC 22488 ZW

ZIMBABWE

Reference:
MINISTRY OF LANDS,
AGRICULTURE AND
RURAL RESETTLEMENT
Ngungunyana Building
1, Borrowdale Road
Private Bag 7701
Causeway
Harare

Ref
TO [redacted]

Date:.11/03/2002.

Dear Sir/Madam

Re: OFFER OF LAND UNDER THE LAND REFORM and RESETTLEMENT PROGRAMME (PHASE II, MODEL A2 SCHEME)

1. The **Minister of Lands, Agriculture and Rural Resettlement** has the pleasure to inform you that your application for land under the Model A2 Scheme has been successful.

2. You are offered Subdivision **6** of [redacted] in **GOROMONZI** District of **Mashonaland East Province** for agricultural purposes. The farm unit offered is approximately **28.00** hectares in extent.

3. This offer is made in terms of the Agricultural Land Settlement Act [Chapter 20:01] whose provisions you are advised to acquaint yourself with. Conditions which go with the offer are attached.

4. You are requested to indicate on the attached form whether you accept this offer or not, within 30 days of receipt of this offer.

5. If you accept this offer, you are required to declare any state land you maybe leasing for agricultural purposes or whether you have been allocated agricultural land under any Government Scheme.

6. A lease agreement will only be entered into once the Minister is satisfied that all conditions have been met.

7. **The Minister reserves the right to withdraw or change this offer if he deems it necessary, or if you are found in breach of any of the set conditions. In the event of a withdrawal or change of this offer, no compensation arising from this offer shall be claimable or payable whatsoever.**

Made

Hon. Dr J.M. Made (MP)
Minister of Lands, Agriculture and Rural Resettlement